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OF  
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FIG. 1.—FRONT VIEW



FIG. 2.—LATERAL VIEW



FIG. 3.—OCCIPITAL VIEW



FIG. 4.—BASAL VIEW

**THE SKULL OF A COPPER ESKIMO FROM BATHURST INLET, CORONATION  
GULF, NEW TERRITORY, CANADA**

**VANCOUVER CITY MUSEUM**

*(Photo by Bentley, Vancouver)*

# MAN

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Vol. XLVI, 1-26

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES

#### THE SKULL OF A COPPER ESKIMO. *By Dr. George E. Kidd, F.R.C.S., Vancouver, Canada*

The following is a report on the skull of a Copper Eskimo recently sent to the Vancouver City Museum by Rev. Father Raymond, a missionary in the Coppermine area of Northern Canada. Relative to the specimen Father Raymond writes:—‘This skull is the pure Eskimo type of the Cornation gulf, without any blend of another race so far as I know. This people never had any contact with the white man, and very seldom with the Indians, their secular enemies. The Eskimo’s custom is to expose the dead person in any place on the barren land where I found this skull, which belongs to a young man who died fifteen years ago, and of whom I know the relatives.’

The skull is in excellent condition. It is bleached white by weathering, but there is no erosion of bone. The mandible is missing. Eight of the upper teeth are in place, viz., the three molars and the canine on each side.

The areas of muscle attachment about the base are extremely smooth. The temporal lines are faintly marked and the zygomatic arches are slender. The individual was effeminate in his musculature. The keel-shape of the cranial vault in the line of the sagittal suture (a common but not constant characteristic of the Eskimo skull), is fairly well marked. The teeth which remain show no evidence of caries and are remarkable in that there is no attrition, the cusps on the molar crowns being well marked. In an adult male Eskimo who has had no contact with the Whites, and consequently has lived on tough uncooked native foods, one might expect to find some wearing down of the dental crowns.

#### CRANIAL MEASUREMENTS

Cubic capacity .. .. .	1,410.0 c.cm.
Maximum length .. .. .	175.0 mm.
Maximum breadth .. .. .	134.0 ..
Maximum frontal diameter .. .. .	95.5 ..
Basio-bregmatic height .. .. .	133.0 ..
Arc nasion to opisthion .. .. .	349.0 ..
Arc nasion to bregma .. .. .	123.5 ..
Arc bregma to lambda .. .. .	115.0 ..
Arc lambda to opisthion .. .. .	112.0 ..
Chord nasion to bregma .. .. .	110.0 ..
Chord bregma to lambda .. .. .	102.5 ..
Chord lambda to opisthion .. .. .	95.0 ..
Horizontal circumference .. .. .	495.0 ..
Length of foramen magnum .. .. .	36.0 ..
Breadth of foramen magnum .. .. .	29.0 ..
Basion to nasion .. .. .	99.0 ..
Basion to alveolar point .. .. .	94.0 ..
Nasion to alveolar point .. .. .	71.5 ..
Breadth of face (between zygomatic-maxillary sutures) .. .. .	97.5 ..
Breadth between zygomatic arches .. .. .	129.0 ..
Maximum breadth of pyriform aperture .. .. .	22.0 ..
Nose height .. .. .	56.0 ..
Maximum orbital breadth .. .. .	37.0 ..

Maximum orbital height .. .. .	37.0 mm.
Palatal length .. .. .	53.0 ..
Palatal breadth .. .. .	36.0 ..

#### CRANIAL INDICES

Cephalic index .. .. .	76.5
Length-height index .. .. .	76.0
Breadth-height index .. .. .	99.2
Orbital index .. .. .	100.0
Nasal index .. .. .	39.3
Alveolar index .. .. .	95.9

The cranial capacity of 1.410 c.cm. compares favourably with that of other male Eskimo skulls on record. When compared with the B.C. Coast Indian, it is slightly above the average for the latter. A series of 48 male skulls examined by the writer gave the Indian an average capacity of 1.378 c.cm. with a maximum of 1.835.

The cephalic index of 76.5 places the skull in the long-headed class to which the Eskimo race belongs.

The length-height index of 76 conforms to the recorded maximum for Eskimo skulls. This index follows closely the cephalic index, the rule being that long-headed skulls are also low-headed.

The orbital index is high when compared with the Eskimo average, but in a series of such skulls in the National Museum at Ottawa, this index reaches as high as 102.

The anterior nasal aperture is narrow—22 mm. The nasal bones are correspondingly so, their breadth at their junction with the frontal being 5 mm. This is, of course, characteristic of the Eskimo. The nasal septum is medially placed without deviation.

The glenoid fossa is shallow when compared with

that of the average Anglo-Saxon skull. This appears to be a characteristic of the Eskimo, associated with a powerful lower jaw and an edge-to-edge bite. In this case the mandibular musculature is poorly developed and the teeth are unworn. It would appear that a shallow glenoid fossa is a transmitted characteristic.

Two noticeable features of this skull are the unworn teeth, and the evidence that the individual was a weakling. The former may be directly related to the latter.

#### AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL COLLECTION FROM MACAS, ON THE EASTERN SLOPES OF THE ECUADORIAN ANDES. *By G. H. S. Bushnell, F.S.A. Illustrated*

**2** This small collection of objects of pottery and stone was sent to me a few years ago by a Salesian priest who was living in the mission at Macas. All the information I have about them is that they were casual finds and that they come from the village of Macas itself. In view of the lack of information about the archaeology of the region in which Macas lies, I wrote a brief description in the early days of the war, only to lay it aside until conditions should improve. Reference to pottery types from Macas has been made in a work which has appeared recently (3), and since my material is somewhat more extensive, the time seems ripe for publication. The collection is now in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

Macas is a small village on the eastern slopes of the Andes of Ecuador. It lies at a height of just under 3500 feet above sea level, on the Upano River. Although it is placed in the predominantly Andean province of Chimborazo, it properly belongs to the hot, humid, thickly-wooded region known as the Oriente. It lies near the northern end of the territory occupied at the present time by the well-known Jivaro Indians, but with one doubtful exception the objects which I propose to describe do not seem to bear any relation to the products of the modern Jívaros.

#### THE POTTERY

There are two complete vessels, four spindle whorls, parts of two figurines and a number of sherds. The sherds and the figurines appear to be associated, since the various types have several traits in common, but there is nothing to connect the two complete vessels with any of them or with each other, and the relationships of the spindle whorls are doubtful.

There are two well-defined types of sherd, the first I have called One-colour Incised and the second is the Red-banded Incised of the publication mentioned above (3). In addition there are a number of fragments of jars with bridge handles, of a peculiar

type. The material of all these, and of the figurines, is practically the same, namely very fine-textured grey to black ware, which may be fired at the surface to a lighter colour, containing minute flakes of mica. Some examples are slightly sandier than others, a feature which is more frequent in the Red-banded Incised type and the bridge-handled jars than it is in the One-colour Incised. Some of the sherds in the latter group, which have the finest texture, are almost greasy to the touch. All the objects seem to have been burnished originally, but they did not have any slip. In the Red-banded Incised Group and on the figurines certain details are picked out in red, and in one case red paint is found on a fragment belonging to a bridge-handled jar.

*Group 1. One-colour Incised Ware.*—This takes its name from the ornament, which was, in most cases, incised before firing on the outside of the vessel (fig. 1, *a-c*). The paste is grey to black in colour, but it may be fired buff or dull reddish-brown. The group consists entirely of rather small rim sherds, so the vessels cannot be entirely reconstructed. The most frequent type is that shown in fig. 1, *c*, of which six or seven vessels are represented. It is probable from analogy with the closely similar type shown in fig. 1, *b*, that they are shallow bowls with base meeting the wall in an angle, as indicated by the dotted lines. The form of the rim, with its two deep but irregular grooves, is characteristic, and in two very small sherds (fig. 1, *f, g*) the edge is notched vertically. The sherd whose profile is shown in fig. 1, *f*, is so small that its position is uncertain, and the wall may approach the angle of fig. 1, *c, g*, instead of that shown. The incised ornament is confined to a band on the outside; examples are shown in fig. 1, *a, b, c*. The fragment shown in fig. 1, *a*, shows an approach to Group 2, in that lightly cross-hatched areas seem to be outlined by thicker, incised lines, in much the same way as red painted areas are outlined in that group.

Fig. 1, *d, e, h, i*, show isolated examples: 1, *d*, is part of a thick-walled bowl, which seems to have had a disproportionately thin base; 1, *e*, shows part of a

bowl of very different shape, or perhaps a jar, with the ornament much more deeply incised: yet another type, with a single incised line on the outside, is shown in fig. 1, *h*, and it is remotely possible that this may come from a bowl like some of the modern Jivaro ones figured by Mr. Stirling (1, Pl. 35): finally, the position of the sherd figured in fig. 1, *i*, cannot be determined with certainty, since it is much worn, but the material, the groove in the top, and the incised lines show that it must belong to this group.

*Group 2. Red-banded Incised Ware.*—The material is similar to that of the last group, but in most cases is a trifle sandier. It is black or dark grey at the core, fired buff on the outside of the vessel and sometimes on the inside also. This buff colour is clearer than that sometimes found in Group 1, and might perhaps be better described as yellow. The character of the ornament, incised in outline before firing and painted red, is shown in fig. 1, *j-n*. Drs. Collier and Murra have demonstrated the occurrence of this ware near Cañar and at Alausi, in the Andean region west of Macas, where they regard it and some associated types as intrusive and suggest a source for them on the coast or in the Macas region. I had previously noted its resemblance to a vessel from the Cañari country figured by Verneau and Rivet (2), Vol. II, Pl. LII, 4), and to another object from the northern part of the Andes, which they also figure (2), Vol. II, Pl. XLII, 2). I found ware of somewhat similar appearance at La Libertad on the Ecuadorian coast, but the fact that the ornament was outlined by engraving after firing separates it from the Red-banded Ware, so it does not support the theory of a coastal origin.

Fragments of three bowls are shown in fig. 1, *l, m, n*. The rim of the first seems to be related to those in fig. 1, *b, c*, and all three have pairs of grooves running round the outside just above the angle where the base joins the wall, like those in fig. 1, *b*. In this group these grooves are picked out in red. Unfortunately the wall positions of fig. 1, *m, n*, cannot be determined with certainty, and fig. 1, *l*, is broken off along a line of weakness at the angle, so it does not throw much light on the point. The ornament on these bowls is confined to the outside, and occupies the same position on the wall as the incised ornament in Group 1.

Fig. 1, *o*, shows a lip with incised lines on the top, and red paint on the under side. The radius of the vessel is uncertain. The sherds in fig. 1, *j, k*, with ornament on the outside, probably belong to jars.

Parts of figurines belonging to this group are shown in fig. 1, *p, q*. The first lacks the head, one arm, part of the other, and the legs, and it has no red paint, though it probably had some originally. It is crudely made, and probably represents a man

wearing a loin cloth, with a hoodlike object hanging down the back. The loin cloth has pits in front and incised lines behind. The other, fig. 1, *q*, is apparently the right leg of a figurine. It is round in section and so has an enormously swollen appearance. It is ornamented with vertical grooves and a pair of horizontal ones, the latter painted red, and there are traces of red paint on the foot. The grooves are missing opposite the place where the left leg was. I have never seen any other figurine from South America with legs like this.

*Jars with bridge handles.*—This group consists only of fragments, but it presents features of some interest. Jars with bridge handles and a single tubular spout are common enough in Peru and they occur in Colombia, but they are extremely rare in Ecuador. The exact form of the jar cannot be reconstructed, since the top is the most that remains of any example, but it appears that we have here a special type, unlike those that have been described from the areas mentioned. Bennett (4) figures a type (his type E) from the Lake Valencia region in Venezuela which shows some resemblance to it, but the spout form in particular differs considerably.

Most of the examples are grey in colour, but some are fired to a dull buff, the colours being closely comparable with those of Group 1. The object shown in fig. 1, *r*, is an exception, since it approaches the colour scheme of Group 2, being light buff partly covered with red paint.

The specimen of which most remains is that shown in fig. 1, *s*. It has a marked shoulder at the base of the short, flaring spout, and a bulge with an air hole on the opposite side of the handle. There are two other examples, much weathered, of the same type of spout. There are four shallow horizontal grooves below the air hole, and another groove describes a roughly semicircular path on either side below the bridge. The fragment in fig. 1, *r*, already referred to, seems to be a modification of the bulge which bears the air hole in fig. 1, *s*: it has three ridges on the top, and the whole of it was probably painted red, though much of the paint is now worn off. A more elaborate form of this bulge is shown from three directions in fig. 1, *t*; it has an applied strip of clay on the top. Fig. 1, *v*, shows an example of much the same size, which seems to be a degenerate bird's head, on which applied crescents of clay represent the eyes and a strip between them a kind of crest. Fig. 1, *u*, shows a much larger type, somewhat damaged, which is suggestive of a sitting bird, with applied lumps of clay to represent the eyes. There are indications that the jar swelled out at the base of this object. Finally, there is the large and elaborate example, adorned with grooves shown in fig. 1, *w*.

It is regrettable that these jars are so incomplete,

Fig: 1.

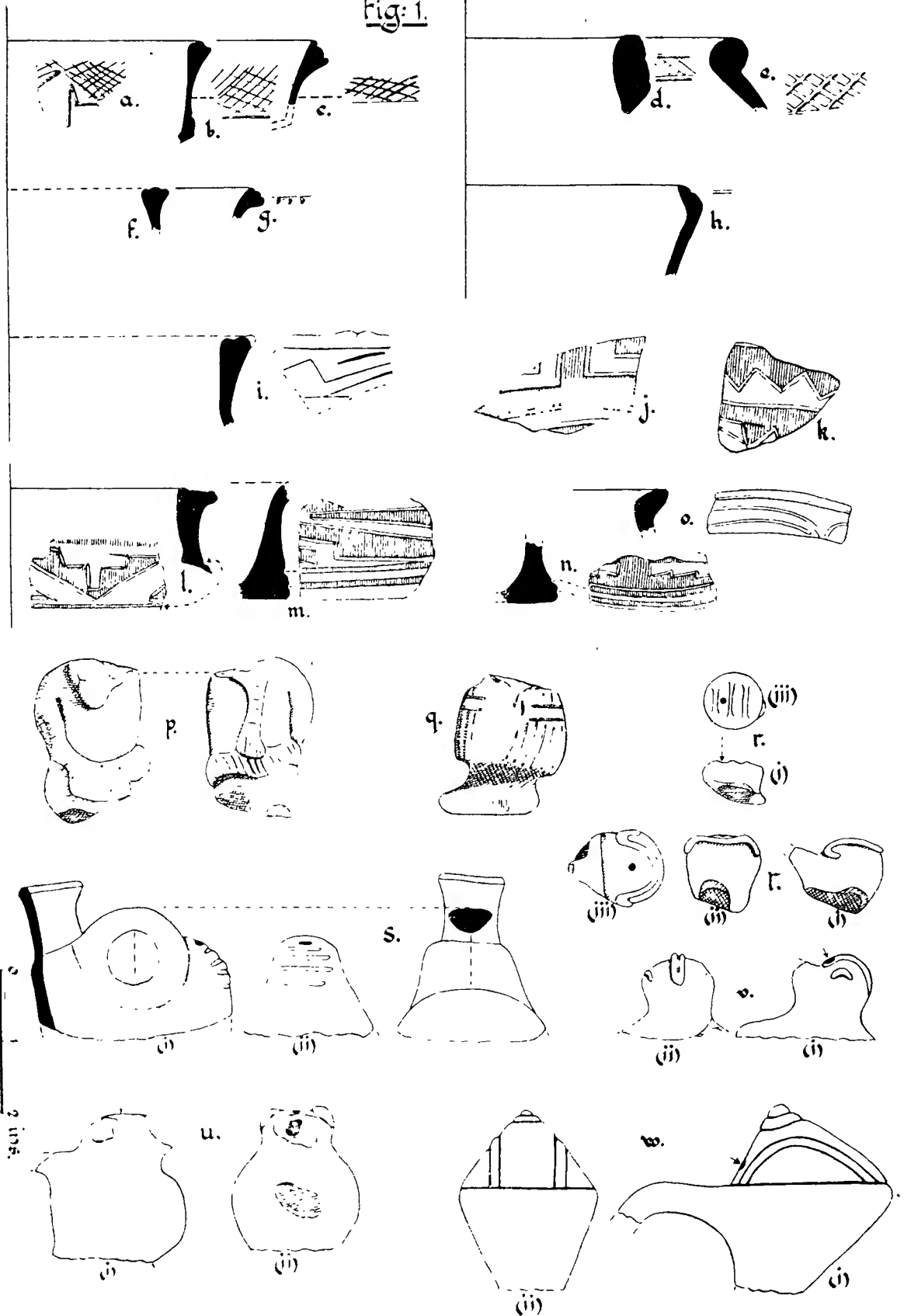


Fig: 2.



a.



b.



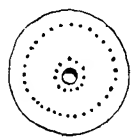
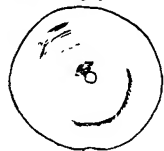
c.



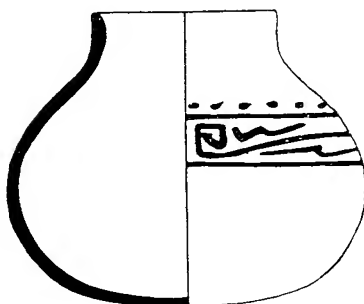
d.



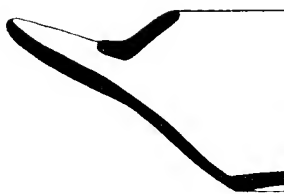
e.



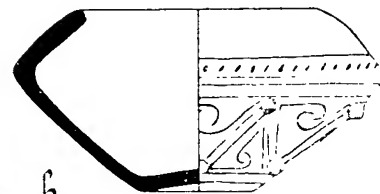
g.



f.

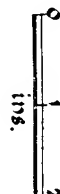


h.

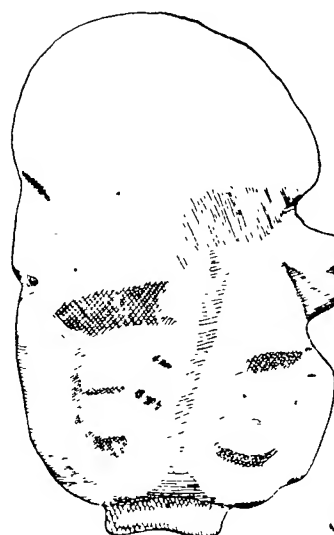
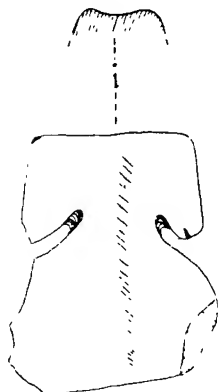


Design repeated thrice, but not of same length in each case.

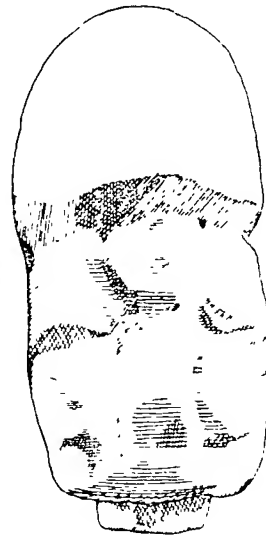
Panel which is repeated in approx: the same form six times on vessel shown above.



ins.



j.



but there is no doubt about the nature of the fragments, since their function is indicated in each case by the air hole and the scar left by breaking off the handle.

*Miscellaneous.*—In fig. 2, *e*, is shown a crudely modelled head of the same material as the previous groups, and dull grey in colour like most of the bridge-handled jars. The eyes and mouth are simple, smooth depressions. It is solid and appears to have been a lug projecting from some vessel.

A hollow animal head, with pits on the neck to represent fur, is shown in fig. 2, *g*. It is made of fine grey ware, much harder than that of the objects already described, and it may well belong to a different culture.

*Spindle Whorls.*—There are four of these (fig. 2, *a-d*). With the possible exception of the second, there is nothing to connect them with the objects described above. Fig. 2, *a*, shows a whorl made from the base of a pot with cylindrical foot, of very hard, fine ware, grey at the core and fired buff to very light red. Fig. 2, *b*, shows a massive whorl of buff ware, ornamented with pits, which may possibly be connected with Group I. Fig. 2, *c*, is of fine, hard red ware, with incised frets on the sloping surface. The incised lines contain remains of white filling. Fig. 2, *d*, shows a small moulded whorl of ware similar to the last. The ornament consists of a ring of pits, broken by two opposite groups of four vertical slashes, but these have no filling and do not seem to have lost any.

*Complete Vessels.*—The pot shown in fig. 2, *f*, is of buff ware, tempered with small angular fragments of black material, probably coarse sand derived from the weathering of lava, which distinguishes it sharply from any other object in the collection. In common with the other objects, it contains some mica, but the only significance of this can be to point to the local origin of them all, in a region where outcrops of mica-schist are abundant. The ornament consists of a deeply incised band of geometrical decoration, the unit shown in the figure being inaccurately repeated thrice. It was done before firing.

The bowl shown in fig. 2, *h*, is of very hard, well-fired baked ware, tempered with small angular fragments of

soft, light-coloured material, and it contains a little mica. In places where it is chipped it is seen to be grey at the core, fired to a dull buff in places, though burnishing has had the effect of restoring the grey colour. It has a pointed spout, open and roughly semi-circular in section except near the base, where it is closed. The ornament is lightly incised, and the lines and pits are filled with light-red pigment. The design below the ridge consists of six units, inaccurately repeated, which are accompanied by little bosses in the positions shown, though some were omitted originally and some are lost.

## OBJECTS OF STONE

There are two stone objects in the collection, an axe-head and a thing of uncertain use.

The axe-head is of lava, and belongs to a common Andean type, with grooved butt and deep notches to assist hafting. It is damaged (fig. 2, *i*).

The other object is roughly carved from vesicular lava, but it is impossible to say what it is intended to represent. The shallow socket at the base might possibly serve to fix it, albeit insecurely, to a wooden shaft (fig. 2, *j*).

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### Description of figures.

Where possible, the radius of the vessel from which a sherd comes is shown by reference to a line to the left of it. Where the wall-angle is doubtful, the line of the top of the vessel is dotted. In *o* the radius is doubtful, and in *n* both the angle and the radius are doubtful.

Side views are marked (*v*); Back views are marked (*u*); Top views are marked (*iii*).

Fig. 1, *a* to *i*.—One-colour Incised Ware; *j-q*, red-banded Incised Ware; *r-w*, Bridge-handled Jars.

Fig. 2, *a-d*, Spindle-whorls; *e* is a solid head, probably a lug; *g* is a hollow head; *f* is a complete vessel (repaired). *h* is a complete vessel with pointed spout. *i, j* are objects of stone.

**SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE 'TUMBIAN' CULTURE.** By Professor C. Van Riet Lowe. *Archaeological Survey, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg*

**3** In the *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa*, published in 1944, there appeared a note by me on Dr. Francis Cabu's collection of stone implements from the Belgian Congo.<sup>1</sup> This note was written in 1941 and it includes the following statements: (*a*) 'that the "Tumbian Culture" is in

reality a *mélange* of Mid- and Upper Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic forms," and (*b*) that as a result of Dr. Cabu's field-work, we are for the first time 'now able to see the Congo not as the home of a single Stone Age culture (the ill-conceived "Tumbian" of Oswald Menghin), but as a vast

'stage upon which man has practised his skill from the very dawn of the Pleistocene right up through the millennia to the present.'

My object in submitting this contribution was to show how unfortunate was the application of the term 'Tumbian Culture' to an admixture of elements of a variety of material cultures, and to suggest that until the original collection on which the descriptive term was based has been reclassified and redescribed, and the application of the term narrowed down to a group of implements that belong to the same cultural horizon at Tumba, it was inadvisable to recognize the term and more inadvisable to apply it in a wide field.

In this contention, I received the full support of the Abbé Breuil who, two years later, submitted a further contribution on 'Le Paléolithique au Congo Belge d'après les recherches du Docteur Cabu.' This was also published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa*.<sup>2</sup> In his review, the Abbé stated: 'Plus d'un de nos lecteurs se demandera ce que devient dans cette affaire le TUMBIEN.'

'Comme nous trouvons, en Europe, les coups-de-poing ou bifaces, autrefois tous *chelléens* par définition, répartis depuis l'Abbevillien (1<sup>er</sup> interglaciaire) à travers l'Acheuléen (2<sup>ème</sup> interglaciaire, 3<sup>ème</sup> glaciaire et 3<sup>ème</sup> interglaciaire), jusqu'au Levalloisien V ou au Moustérien de tradition acheuléenne (dernier glaciaire) de même les formes dites tumbiennes se voient aujourd'hui éparpillées sur les deux tiers de la durée de la Préhistoire congolaise.'

'Comme le terme de *chelléen* a dû, pour les préhistoriens avertis, être abandonné, car prêtant à mille confusions d'âges et de formes, de même le terme "tumbien," établi sur une table de musée, à partir de récoltes sélectionnées de niveaux incertains, doit disparaître pour faire place à un vocabulaire mieux adapté aux réalités typologiques et stratigraphiques.'

'Ces deux appellations ("chelléen" et "tumbien") correspondent à un stade de connaissances imparfaites, voire élémentaires, de la Préhistoire, qui doit céder le pas à une analyse objective et patiente des terrains et des industries. Celle-ci, maugrée d'abord par M. Jean Colette, a été poursuivie à grands efforts et plus largement par le Docteur Cabu durant son séjour prolongé au Congo.'

In view of what has been said, it is extremely interesting to find that in 1945 there appeared in an Occasional Paper of the Coryndon Memorial Museum in Nairobi, a contribution to the study of the 'Tumbian Culture' in East Africa by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey and the Ven. Archdeacon W. E. Owen.<sup>3</sup> In the introduction to their joint paper, the authors review the history of the discoveries which led to the establishment of the term 'Tumbian Culture' by Oswald Menghin in 1925 and say: 'Menghin summarized the

'distribution of certain tool types and assemblages to which he gave the name of the Tumbian Culture, after Tumba, the site from which Haas had made the collection published by Dr. Jacques in 1900 *instead of naming the culture after one or other of the sites from which Dr. Stainer first described tools of this type.*'

The italics are mine because the portion of the sentence italicized shows how unsatisfactory was the application of the term 'Tumbian.' In other words, even in the authors' views, Menghin should have used another term to describe the culture he had in mind. This is emphasized in the paragraph which follows, where it is indicated that the so-called 'Tumbian Culture' started in Old Palæolithic times and ended in Neolithic. The authors also quote Vayson de Pradenne's view that this 'Tumbian Culture' is in reality a mixed assemblage and that Menghin had applied the term to many tool forms which in fact belonged to other cultures. Yet, admitting the truth of this statement and apologizing for Menghin's methods, the authors persist not merely in using the misnomer, but in applying it to a remote and entirely distinct region! In doing so, they seem to have chosen the line of least resistance by following O'Brien, admitting that he used the term to describe 'a culture previously named Sangoan by Wayland.'<sup>4</sup>

I submit that the authors' procedure in adhering to and extending the use of the term 'Tumbian' to describe a recently discovered material culture, is not in accordance with the best ideals, standards, and methods of established archaeological procedure, more especially in a science still struggling toward systematization. Even in the first Appendix to their contribution, an appendix written after the appearance of the volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Society* referred to, the authors persist in their views—views which I frankly confess, I cannot appreciate, more especially as a solution of the difficulty must have been so obvious to them from the beginning. They had it in Wayland's Sangoan Culture.

My reasons for submitting this note at this stage are twofold: (a) I have no objection to the retention and continued use of the term 'Tumbian,' *provided* the admixture of types on which the term was originally founded is resorted and redescribed, and a selection of tools which belong to the same material culture is made and described as a basis on which to set this new culture and the term used to define it. Then, and then only, will we have any real justification for returning to Tumba. Until this is done, the continued use of the term, more especially when it is used in areas beyond the basin of the Congo, can only lead to misunderstanding.

(b) Our nomenclature is in sore need of review and mutual readjustment—especially in Africa. The day



I feel, is not far off when it will be found that the old, classic European terms on which the entire prehistoric structure has been built, will need readjustment even in Europe. Consider for a moment, the Acheulean. This term describes a material culture complex found in Western Europe. Its African counterpart is perfectly clear, but wherever tool-types which characterize it are found in Africa, the assemblage of which they form an integral part makes it sufficiently distinct from its European counterparts at least to demand the prefix 'African.' So we get the 'African Acheulean,' as we get an 'Indian Acheulean' and so on. From the beginning to the end of the Great Hand-axe Culture, *i.e.* from the beginning of the Abbevillian (*néé* Chellean) to the end of the Acheulean, we see such marked affinities between the European, Asiatic, and African expressions of this great culture-complex, that the justification for a wide application of the original European terms is inescapable, but with the passing of the Acheulean, man's genius had reached such a stage in the continental extremes to which he had penetrated, and his environments and available raw materials differed so much as he passed from one region to another, that the differential development through which he passed in each of the far-flung regions he had now reached, inevitably gave rise to such distinct material cultures that common terms can no longer be applied to them without grossly misleading results. While we may apply such terms as 'French Acheulean' or even perhaps 'European Acheulean' on the one hand, and 'African Acheulean' on the other, and not be unduly misleading, we cannot use such expressions as 'African Solutrean' or 'European Stillbay,' despite certain very marked typological affinities between the Solutrean and the Stillbay, without being grossly misleading: nay without being grossly inaccurate! So we must perforce move cautiously in this our fledgling stage. The fewer terms we employ, the better, but each term used must have a clear-cut and factual foundation, which the 'Tumbian' most assuredly has not.

The position as I broadly visualize it at the moment is this: I see Africa as the original home of those makers of tools whose material culture developed into the Abbevillian and evolved finally into the Acheulean. The offshoots of this originally African development, as I see things, that first reached Europe and Asia were already 'evolved' when they got there; and in the different climes and circumstances in which the makers of the tools which characterize these cultures found themselves, their subsequent development was different from that which their relatives whom they had left behind in Africa enjoyed. In consequence, the European and Asiatic branches need to be specially studied and their links with the African

homeland need to be stressed only as the need arises. This means that the African terminology in the earliest and earlier stages of man's development, is destined in time to be pre-eminently important. It is the main stem or trunk of the prehistorian's tree and if we are to avoid confusing each other, more especially if those of us who work in Africa are to avoid confusing our co-workers in Europe, those to whom we owe so much, we must strive to agree among ourselves—and admit our mistakes and correct them—rather than perpetuate them with Tumbian temerity.

The first way out of our present difficulties is to assemble a Pan-African Congress of Prehistorians and to give 'terminology' one of the most important places in the list of subjects to be discussed. Had the war not broken out when it did, such a congress would undoubtedly have been held some time ago, but the intervention of hostilities forced those plans which had already crystallized into a pigeon-hole from which they are only now slowly emerging. I have every hope that such a congress will be held in the not too distant future and until it has been held, and until the terminological issues have been thoroughly ventilated among those present, we must, I fear me, contain ourselves with as much patience as we possibly can.

The terminological experiment which South African prehistorians embarked upon in 1926, when all the classic European terms were ruthlessly discarded and replaced by new *local* terms such as Stellenbosch, Fauresmith, and so on, drew attention to the need for a review of the methods previously followed. Both western Europe, which first gave us a terminology that is now classic, and South Africa where a new terminology was experimentally applied, have every appearance of being *cul-de-sac* remote from the home in which the earlier cultures originated, viz. the Abbevillian and Acheulean which together characterize the development of the Great Hand-axe Culture. If this is so, and I believe that it is, how can we expect the cultures in these continental extremes to do more than reflect partial typological affinities? And this is precisely what we find. The South African counterpart of the French Abbevillian Culture is the Stellenbosch I of Clacto-Abbevillian facies—each different from its parent which is to be sought elsewhere. Higher up the scale, the difference becomes more marked: the French Middle Acheulean of Acheul IV facies, which is believed to have appeared between the supposedly independent flake cultures Levallois I and Levallois II in the early Riss Glaciation, has as its South African typological counterpart, the most developed Stellenbosch Culture: Stage V in the valley of the Vaal. But, in addition to the presence of typical Acheul IV hand-axes within this Stellenbosch V Culture, it includes cleavers, crude

gravers, and Micoquian bifaced tools, which like so many of the larger Acheul-type hand-axes, were often made on flakes struck from Levallois II type cores. In South Africa, the Levallois is a technical process which forms an integral part of the Great Hand-axe Culture from the Stellenbosch of Middle Pleistocene times to the final Fauresmith of Upper Pleistocene times—the technique evolving *within* the hand-axe culture. It is not an independent, parallel flake-culture.<sup>5</sup>

In other words, by the time men in western Europe and southern Africa had reached a stage of development in which their material cultures included hand-axes of well-developed Acheulean type, the material cultures in these remote continental extremes, these remote *cults-de-sac*, differed so markedly from each other, that their affinities can only be tentatively stressed and satisfactorily described by the use of such comparative terms as French Acheulean and South African Acheulean.

If the experiment initiated in South Africa in 1926 did no more than draw attention to the need for some terminological revision, it must be admitted that it has served a useful purpose: but when that purpose has been served and the importance of the African field is given the position I believe it demands, we shall need to get together in order to review and revise those terms which so obviously need revision, more especially those which we presently employ to describe material cultures which belong to the Old Palaeolithic or Earlier Stone Age. This brings me back to the ill-conceived 'Tumbian' whose roots undoubtedly lie in this Age, for its continued use can I am convinced, only add confusion to confusion, and I therefore urge that it be pigeon-holed until the results of the Pan-African Congress of Prehistorians have been published.

The need for a Pan-African Congress is fortunately being seriously tackled by Leakey (for Nairobi will be a most convenient venue), and is mentioned by me at this stage because the latest works on Portugal and Morocco show that the North African and south-western European expressions of the earlier stages of the Great Hand-axe Culture form almost exact parallels with the state of affairs which we have long known to have existed in South Africa, viz. the

Abbevillian and early Acheulean variations of this great culture complex are core-cum-flake cultures in which Clacton and Abbevillian forms are integrally associated in a common whole during the earlier stages, just as the Levalloisian and Acheulean are integrally associated in a common cultural whole in the later.<sup>6</sup> Neither in Portugal and North Africa, nor in South Africa, are there independent core and flake cultures evolving side by side as they are supposed to have done in France and England. In both areas the terms Clacton and Levallois can only be used to describe technical processes employed by the makers of hand-axes, cleavers and other tools which characterize the instruments men made and used in those remote times. We can, therefore, only compare the French Abbevillian with the Clacto-Abbevillian of North and South Africa—just as we can only compare the artefacts from Clacton with artefacts in the Clacto-Abbevillian of North Africa on the one hand and the Clacto-Abbevillian or Stellenbosch I of South Africa on the other. The position may appear somewhat obscure to those who persist in the use of such an archaic term as 'Chellean,' but it is sincerely hoped that with the passing of the major war issues and their grave distractions in Europe and Africa, we shall soon be able to give more time to a reconsideration of such important issues as have been so briefly referred to in this essay.

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**POTTERY IN LADAKH, WESTERN TIBET.** *By the Rev. Walter Asboe, Formerly Local Correspondent for W. Tibet*

**4** Before describing the art of pottery which probably existed during the times of the Mons and the Dards, two Aryan races, the former from Kashmir, and the latter from Gilgit, it will be necessary to say something about the Dards.

As far as we know from rock inscriptions to be found in various parts of Western Tibet, it appears that the country was in the hands of the Dards and

Mons alone until the advent of the Central Tibetan dynasty in A.D. 1000. Philological reasons, however, compel us to believe that in the age of Herodotus when the Dards and the Mons had probably not yet left their original homes, an ancient tribe of Tibetan nomads tended their herds on the plains and hills of Western Tibet.

Although the Mons, besides preaching the law,

had founded villages and towns in Western Tibet, much arable land remained: and this fact was recognized by the Dards of Gilgit: and it is not unlikely that the latter race saw material for pottery in the soil they tilled.

It is easy to understand how the art of pottery came into being during the time of the Dards, for we know that this Aryan race which came more or less under the influence of Buddhism, were ingenious carvers on the rocks of the country, and some of these carvings of animals may justly be called works of art.

It is possible that the Dards of Da themselves may have given rise to the supposition of their late emigration. For instance, it is an ancient Dard custom to bury the dead. Now, the present Dards of the village of Da, discovering the old burial ground of their forefathers in a side valley near Da, jumped to the conclusion that their ancestors must have been Moslems, because they observed that their Moslem neighbours always buried their dead. Besides the custom of burial, the Dards are known for many strange customs, the origin of which has not yet been explained satisfactorily. Thus they do not breed fowls, nor do they eat their eggs. The milk of cows is also not used by them, although they breed *Dzos* (the hybrid of the yak and the common cow) to sell them to other people.

Though the ancient inscriptions in Indian Brahmi and Kharoshthi characters of 200 B.C., which were discovered at Khalatse, more likely belong to the times of the ancient Mons, we may fairly assume that the Dards had a literature, evidence of which may be seen in a short inscription in a later form of Indian character in front of the ancient Dard castle at Khalatse.

But more than literature, the Dards enjoyed sports: and in many places where their language has become extinct the game of polo which they introduced has survived to the present day.

Probably they settled there as the soil on the sides of the mountains was specially suited for pottery. One strong argument for the supposition that the Dards initiated pottery is that in some ancient Dard graves there were found earthen vessels of all shapes and sizes.

In former times this guild of potters manufactured pottery for the state in lieu of paying revenue and taxes, but at the present day this arrangement has lapsed, and the potters, apart from engaging in their handicraft in Likir itself, go from village to village where the soil is suitable, there to make earthen vessels of all kinds for the people. A form of trade unionism exists among these potters, for they are very jealous in preserving the right of engaging in their trade to the exclusion of all and sundry outside the guild.

The season during which the potters can do their work effectively is from April to November, it being impossible to carry on their craft when the soil freezes during the winter months.

There is a fairly large demand for earthenware pots, cups, teapots and so forth in these villages which are too remote from the main trade route leading to Central Asia.

The chief villages where the soil is suitable for pottery are, Likir, Saspol, Nyemo, Igu, Hemis Shugpachan, Nyarmo, and Yuru. The potters are on the whole a prosperous class according to the living standards of the people. Unlike the carpenters, blacksmiths, and musicians, the potters are considered high-class. They own land, and intermarry with the farmer class. Occasionally they receive their wages in money, but more usually in kind: that is to say they are fed, and receive in addition, flour, or grain, in return for their work.

The chief requisites necessary for the potter of Western Tibet are: (a) A particular soil, brown, white, black, or blue-grey which is usually found on the sides of the mountains. (b) A spiky grass in tufts which grows sporadically in the sand. This is burnt in the mud kiln when baking the earthenware. (c) A large kiln about five feet in diameter and three feet deep, hollowed out of the ground. (d) A concave wooden block with an iron spike, which is stuck into the ground so that the potter can revolve it as he moulds the clay. (e) A rag which he dips into water as he performs the moulding process. (f) A brush made of straws with which he brushes out little bits of stones and other rubbish which may be in the clay.

It is customary for the potter to mix fine sand with the clay, and when he has moulded it into the shape of the vessel he needs on the revolving wooden implement, he transfers the vessel to the kiln. When he has filled the kiln with different shapes of utensils, he covers them all with sods consisting of long grasses, and sets a light to the whole. This burns slowly for twenty-four hours, and slightly more briskly when there is a wind. By this time the pots will have been thoroughly baked. Most of the earthen pots are unglazed, but occasionally the potter undertakes the process of glazing. To do this, he mixes borax, powdered glass, and flint which has already been pounded: and with the mixture, he smears the unglazed vessel, and repeats the baking process.

In Baltistan, cooking utensils are made by getting a special kind of stone which is hollowed out with a hooked iron implement. The stone is rather brittle and easily cracks if allowed to fall on the ground. Tea and soup boiled in these stone pots remain hot for a long time, and it is believed that beverages cooked in such pots are of a better flavour than if cooked in metal or earthenware utensils.

**SOVIET ARCHÆOLOGISTS AND THE WAR.** By S. Tarakanova, Secretary of the Institute of the History of Material Culture of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union.<sup>1</sup>

**5** The Institute of the History of Material Culture is the largest archæological institution in the Soviet Union. Attached to it are foremost Soviet archæologists, among them Professor Gorodtsov, Professor Efimenko, Professor Ravdonikas, Corresponding Member of the Academy Trever, Professor Blavatsky, Professor Tolstov, Professor Artishkovsky, and Professor Kiselev.

The Institute carried on wide and varied activities before the war. More than twenty expeditions travelled annually to various regions of the Soviet Union, and the workers of the Institute took part in archæological expeditions sponsored by other scientific institutions of the Soviet Union. As a result of many years of research work, the Institute was in a position to undertake such large studies as *History of the World* (the first volumes), *The History of Ancient Culture*, *The History of the Culture of Ancient Russia*. Besides these, the Institute published numerous monographs on various fields and problems of archæology, such as *The Bronze Age in East Europe* by V. Gorodtsov, *Primitive Society* by P. Efimenko, *The Volga Bulgars* by A. Smirnov, *Handicrafts in Ancient Russia* by B. Rybakov.

The war and the blockade of Leningrad broke in upon the normal course of the Institute's work. A considerable number of its workers were evacuated from the city, and the Institute had to take up tasks set by the war.

The German invaders ruthlessly destroyed monuments of Russian culture and the culture of other peoples of the U.S.S.R. in the districts they temporarily occupied. The Extraordinary Commission for the investigation of Fascist crimes set Soviet archæologists the task of investigating the state of archæological monuments and museum collections in liberated regions. These investigations established that many of the most valuable monuments of ancient Russia, which had been preserved for centuries by the Russian people, existed no longer. Others had been damaged considerably. In the old Russian city of Novgorod the Spas-Nereditsa church with its splendid frescoes, dating back to the twelfth century, was almost completely destroyed, as was the Church of the Saviour in Volotov dating back to the fourteenth century. Other churches either destroyed or seriously damaged include the Novgorod Sofia Cathedral of the eleventh century, the Kiev Perchera Monastery and the New Jerusalem Cathedral of the seventeenth

century in Istra. Priceless monuments of antiquity in Kerch were destroyed, as they were in Khersones and other cities of the north shore of the Black Sea. Archæological collections in museums were either plundered or destroyed. Our scientists have drawn up a detailed list of everything stolen or destroyed, to be presented as part of the claim the Soviet people hold against the German invaders.

Wartime conditions limited field-work to but a small fraction of what it had been. However, this work did not cease altogether, even during the most trying days. Beginning in 1940 A. Okladnikov has carried on excavations uninterruptedly in Yakutia, along the lower reaches of the Lena river. The Lena expeditions unearthed settlements of the paleolithic and neolithic periods, as well as finds dating back to the bronze and the early iron age, thus filling in the lower Lena blind spot in the archæological map of the Soviet Union. Of particular interest is the ancient settlement near Wolba Lake, where a considerable dwelling was unearthed with the remains of a hearth, dating back to early neolithic times. Other settlements of the neolithic and bronze ages were found within the confines of the city of Yakutsk, and another, of the late neolithic period, on Ymyakhtakh Lake, 60 kilometers north of Yakutsk. The expeditions had to work in the difficult conditions beyond the Arctic circle, far from any means of communication, in the Siberian *taiga*.

In February 1943, work was begun on the construction of the Farkhad power station in Uzbekistan. When work was begun on the 15 kilometer canal, the Farkhad archæological expedition, under the supervision of Gaidukevich, arrived on the spot, to watch for archæological finds in the diggings. The most interesting of the finds discovered by the expedition, which completed its work in 1944, included the grave at Shirin Sai, on the left bank of the Syr-Darya and the city site of Munchak-tepe. The grave yielded over 20 burial places containing the remains of skeletons in sitting positions and stretched out on their backs dating back to the third and fourth centuries. Among the objects found in the grave must be mentioned beads, a bronze Chinese coin of the first-third centuries, an ornamented earthenware water bottle suited to carrying on a saddle and a pitcher with a light cream-coloured glazing and a handle in the form of a sheep. The Shirin Sai grave finds were characteristic of the ancient culture of the Begovat region, which was part of the Central Asian state of Sutrushana.

Munchak-tepe stands on the high steep bank of the yr-Darya. At the highest point of the town site,

<sup>1</sup> This summary, communicated through the assistant editor of the Press Service Department of the Soviet Embassy in London, appears to relate to a period ending in November, 1944.

(the *тип*) the remains of a castle with galleries were excavated forming a large, clay brick structure. In the south-western part of the town site pot kilns were unearthed, dating back to the first century. Ceramics found here indicate a high development of the potter's craft. Here too were found large clay receptacles for storing grain, stone mortars for grinding grain, and the bones of domestic animals. The population were not nomads, but farmers and cattle breeders. Everywhere are found the traces of a great conflagration that destroyed the city completely during the Mongol invasion.

The materials collected by the Farkhad archaeological expedition lay the basis for the scientific investigation of the history of the material culture of the Sutrushana state.

In the summer of 1944, Professor Artsikhovskiy carried out excavations of the Slav mounds at the village of Tsaritsino, near Moscow. More than twenty graves were opened, belonging to the Slav tribe of Vyatich. Objects found in the graves furnish additional information on the tribe.

Professor Rybakov excavated the Zvenigorod site—the remains of the ancient city of the Moscow duchy—and investigated the dwellings and the walls.

S. Tarakanova excavated the site of the ducal city of Gorodnia on the Volga belonging to the grand duchy of Tver-skoy. The site proved to have been inhabited since the late neolithic period. The remains of the walls of the feudal city of Gorodnia were investigated.

The year 1944 was a jubilee year for Soviet archaeology. The 85th anniversary of the founding of the Imperial Archaeological Commission fell in October, and the twentieth anniversary of the institution that continued its work—the Institute of the History of Material Culture—fell in April of that year. Soviet archaeologists commemorated these jubilee dates by reading 19 papers to the History Department of the Academy and to the full session of the Institute, on questions of archaeology and the history of material culture. In his paper 'Russian archaeology and its development in the past 25 years,' Professor Artsi-

khovskiy proved that archaeology has grown in the past decade from a purely accumulative science into an inalienable part of history.

In a large report on 'Bronze Age Monuments discovered in the Soviet Union in the past twenty-five years,' Professor Kiselev spoke of the great achievements of Soviet archaeologists in the study of the bronze age. In the period under discussion, discoveries were made in regions (Caucasus, Central Asia, Urals, Siberia, the Far North) where traces of the Bronze Age were never known to exist. A description has been formed of the development of local cultures of the bronze age.

Professor Yakubovskiy, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences, spoke of the investigations carried out into the ancient cultures of the peoples inhabiting Central Asia. Professor Blavatskiy spoke of the highly important field work at Olbia, Phanagoria, Khersones and other centres of ancient civilization on the north coast of the Black Sea in his paper 'Twenty-five years of study of Ancient Cities in the Territory of the Soviet Union.'

Professor Lazarev, Corresponding Member of the Academy, spoke in his report of the discoveries made in ancient Russian art in the past twenty-five years.

Several papers were devoted to problems of the origin of the Slavs and Slavonic-Russian culture. Professor Smirnov spoke on the 'Origin of the East Slavs,' Professor Tretyakov on 'Archaeological data on the East Slav tribes.' Professors Artsikhovskiy and Rybakov spoke on problems in the investigation of ancient Russian cities and villages. Professor Mishulin spoke on 'Spanish archaeology in the past decade.'

The highlight of archaeology in 1944 was to be the December meeting of the All Union Archaeological Commission in Moscow, which was to discuss a number of scientific and organizational questions, to sum up archaeological investigation in the Soviet Union in the past twenty-seven years and to draw up plans for archaeological work in the U.S.S.R. in the next five years. Discussion was also to be held on new regulations for the preservation of archaeological monuments in the country.

#### THE STRUCTURE OF THE BARUNDI COMMUNITY (RUANDA-URUNDI TERRITORY, CENTRAL AFRICA).

*By Georges Smets, Professor in the Université Libre de Bruxelles, Head of the Institut de Sociologie Solvay; (communicated to the Royal Anthropological Institute, 25 September, 1945).*

#### 6 Sources

The subject of this address is Urundi rural life and, broadly speaking, Urundi social structure. Thanks to the Jacques Cassel Foundation, which was established to enable the teaching or scientific staff of the University of Brussels to carry on research in the colonies I have had the opportunity of staying eight months of the year 1935 in the tropical African

country that I shall attempt to describe to you in a few words.

On the other hand, I gratefully acknowledge my debt towards some former students of Barundi customs (viz. J. M. M. van der Burgt, *French and Kirundi Dictionary*, 1903—Hans Meyer, *Die Barundi*, 1916—and the author of an anonymous monograph inserted in the Belgian Government *Report on Ruanda-*

*Urundi Administration* 1925—and Bishop (?) Gorju in several works dealing with Urundi, where he has been Vicar Apostolic. It lies N.E. of Tang. lake, 2 to 4 degrees S. of the Equator.

#### *Ethnical conditions*

The Urundi as well as the two neighbouring sultanates of Ruanda and Buha consist of three ethnical groups: (1) the tall, fine-featured, cattle-grazing Batutsi, of Hamitic stock, who constitute a ruling class of some fifty thousand; (2) the middle-sized, rough-featured, land-tilling Bahutu, the largest and main body of a population of over one and a half million; (3) the Pygmy hunting and pot-making Batwa, a mere handful of some thousands of outcasts.

I am reasonably satisfied that these three ethnical groups mix together more than one is generally inclined to believe: they rather seem to become social strata. At any rate there are impoverished Batutsi who till the land, Bahutu who possess cattle, and landless Batwa are not a frequent occurrence to-day. Many impoverished Batutsi have been considered as Bahutu, rich Bahutu as Batutsi. The reasons and theory I brought home were elaborated by Dr. Gerkens and seem to prove that each of the groups is of mingled stock.

#### *Geographical conditions*

The Urundi is a high country. The region between mountain to the west and the steppe to the east is a plateau, 5,000 feet high, often more, and almost completely without ligneous vegetation, except in the near proximity of habitations. Rivers and brooks have dug themselves deep into this plateau and their valleys have made it a country of more or less important hills, each of them with its own name. The bottom of the valleys is covered with swamps where papyrus grows unchecked (for native agriculture had not been successful there). The stony, grassy hill-tops are merely meadow-land. The cultivated belt normally spreads on the hill-side, with the fenced cabins of the land-tillers in the middle of fields and banana-plantations. Only persons of rank dwell in the higher region.

Typical of Urundi scenery as seen from a favourable observation point are the three belts running along one another: below, the ashy green of the papyrus; above, brownish stones and light-coloured grass, sometimes with the rugo of a chief or of his deputy; in between the deep shining green of the banana-trees. Though the population often reaches 350 per square mile, the habitations of most land-tillers remain invisible amidst the banana-trees where they are hidden, and only at the time when meals are prepared does the peacefully ascending smoke betray their presence there.

#### *No villages*

Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped. Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

#### *No markets*

Not only in its not having villages is Urundi different from most African countries: neither had it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.

Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumosso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other populations: as the drum remains a privilege of the *mwami* (sultan), there is no tom-tom: the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district: such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.

#### *Cattle-breeding and agriculture*

Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little importance to the country's life: for the Batutsi, it is a mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.

The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

one might be inclined to believe. The cows yield little milk, and part of this milk is used for making butter, which is employed not for food, but for a cosmetic. Cattle-slaying is (or rather was) not frequent and only young steers, sterile cows, or old beasts are butchered. The cattle are lean, the pastures usually second-rate. And whatever the cattle-breeders themselves may say, they are mainly vegetarians: but the less immediately productive the cattle-breeders' occupation appears, the greater and the nobler the rank it confers to them. It is mainly an outward sign of wealth, with a superior social standing attached to it that enables the higher classes to procure women and claim the devoted and faithful services of the males. It is worth remarking that the cattle are cared for by the men, not—save in exceptional cases—by the women.

Barundi economy is based on agriculture, which is mainly in the hands of the Bahutu, to whom we must add some impoverished Batutsi and most of the Batwa. Sorghum, beans and peas are the chief products, but cassava culture is spreading to-day. Bananas are used for brewing beer. (The agricultural techniques are very primitive, though sometimes more advanced in some respects than might be expected: hardly any other implement than the hoe is commonly employed, and yet manuring and irrigation are known.) Agriculture uses male as well as female labour, but the latter is more common. Among the Batwa only women till the land, and among the Bahutu there are men who take no part in agriculture.

This general information will enable us now to understand the chief subject of this address: the intercourse between the elements of the Barundi population where vicinity plays so small a part.

#### *The position towards the political chiefs*

The country's unity is chiefly based on the sultan's personal power; his prestige is clearly visible in the general mourning and the curious burial rites consequent on his death. Also characteristic was the annual recurrence of an important religious festival usually held in our month of December and called *umuganuro*, the sorghum festival, the sorghum desacralization: only after the festival could the people start sowing sorghum in their fields. The *umuganuro*, however, concerned other agricultural products, as well as cattle and game. It included the exhibition of a sacred drum (*karyenda*) and a hierogamy—which the king achieved with the greatest secrecy. It involved, as well for the festivities themselves as for the preparation of the requisites the hereditary collaboration of men and women picked from every social level and every region, however distant. And so the festival created stronger ties

between the various elements of the people; it was supposed to be a large contribution to the land's fertility and the country's welfare, and in all this the part played by the king was prominent.

Only in fact was the king's power limited. He transferred the leadership of parts of his sultanates to some chiefs, almost in every case relatives (brothers, uncles, cousins), members of the royal family (*baganwa*). In their turn these would establish subchiefs chosen among their relatives, or the aristocracy (*bañisoni*), or even Batutsi commoners, but seldom among the Bahutu. The division reached very far and the last elements of it were not only single hills, but even parts of a hill. And although the ensuing intrication and divided hierarchy remind us forcibly of our own feudo-vassalic middle ages, and appear consequently most unstable, the Barundi system, if we set aside some violent revolutions, possessed some sort of stability and could carry on thanks to its practically hereditary organization. Chiefs, subchiefs and all who had availed themselves of the deep-seated division of authority were naturally possessed of rights over the common people and were entitled to demand from them various privileges, usually defined by local custom, and which ranged from a present of beer to well-determined contributions or vaguer *corvées* (services).

Some scholars have maintained that the *mwami* definitely had a right of possession over the land of the whole of his sultanate. But the truth is that land was not an object of property for the *mwami* or for commoners and the *mwami* and his representatives simply had to allow its utilization and choose the people to carry it out. Such designations were, just as the political leaderships, more or less unstable, more or less precarious; there exists a heredity in fact: but it is possible for a chief, should he care to do so, to eject the tenants. Besides, the abandoned or untilled lands are at his disposal. The system in general enables members of the leading classes as well as members of the subject classes to constitute estates with the only difference that the former will possess large herds of cattle and have their lands tilled by people liable to unpaid service while the latter have only very few cows and must depend on their own labour and that of their families.

The political leader's say in agricultural matters also solves the difficult problem of proportioning field and pasture-lands. The chief will not allow the latter to be reduced, and the threat to the cattle-breeder is further avoided by the chief's right to use the sorghum fields for pastures after the harvest (*ibishaka-shaka*) either for themselves or for others.

The territory of an important chief, with its intermingling complex of herds, estates, revenues, and services, very often extended over large, sometimes



dispersed areas. The chief would have his *ingo* (plural of *ruogo*, residence) built on several hills, and usually establish one of his wives in each of them, to direct the centre entrusted to her. This is a very typical estate organization : it is based on polygamy.

#### *The position towards cattle-owners*

We have said that the *mwami* did not possess the land : neither has he any right of possession over the big cattle. The *mwami* would sometimes take cattle where he found them, but this was only a violent misuse of his tyrannical power. Batutsi and even Bahutu cattle-rearers are definitely the owners of their herds when, of course, the cattle are not simply entrusted to them.

These cattle can be given and this very thing adds a great deal to their worth, for those who desire them are naturally attracted towards those who own them. The king presents with cows the great who come to pay him homage. During the great annual sorghum festival, he ritually distributes cattle to some methodically chosen persons. The great men used to be surrounded, and are still, with a group of servants of various ranks : *ntore* (vassals who owed them a more important military aid than the average tenants), *bagendanyi* (young attendants charged to carry out their messages), *bakamyi* (young Batutsi entrusted with the milking of the cows), *abungere* (who watch over the cattle), *bakwiri* (cooks), *inshoreke* (female attendants and servants). The most esteemed among these followers (*ntore*, *bagendanyi*, *bakamyi*) hope to receive cows one day, the *bakamyi* especially, on the day when they will leave the service to get married.

There are also the so-called cattle-contracts. Here are the most interesting of them : (1) A cattle-owner gives someone a cow, in exchange, the donee will later return a calf after the cow has calved two or three times. (2) An important owner gives several cows to a man who must in his turn permanently provide him with a milch-cow. (3) The owner of an important herd entrusts a man with the breeding of several cows which he may use for milk and manure : one of the cows will be his if the herd has prospered.

In all these cases, the recipient becomes the liege of the donor (or the depositor). In some cases, the recipient is considered a near relative, even a son of the donor and marriage impediments ensue from the assimilation. On the other hand, the higher the donor is socially speaking, the less he tries to derive material profit from these transactions : his real profit is in the power he acquires over the person of the recipient.

#### *The relations between agriculturists*

Similar ties may exist between agriculturists. The

typical case is that of a man who has been allowed to establish himself on a specified spot on a hill, that is, on the hill-side, between the stony higher belt and the swampy valley bottom : this gives him rights over the whole ground above and below him, up to the pasture-lands and down to the papyrus : now there may remain an uncultivated part in this vertical tract of land : if another agriculturist wishes to establish himself there, he will have to ask for the former occupant's permission, which as a rule can be received in exchange for a present. If the present is important, this will be equivalent to a kind of sale ; if it is not, the new-comer will become the man, the *muhutu*, of the first-comer ; he will have to obey him and carry out what commissions the other cares to entrust him with. The same relationship may arise if the occupant of an *itungo* (singular of *amatongo*) surrenders to a new comer lands that were already cultivated.

#### *Relationship between craftsmen and other elements of the population*

Industrial production is almost totally domestic, to the making of back-cloths (*impuzu*) : there are however a few skilled handicraftsmen : potters, blacksmiths, makers of millstones, milkpots, bracelets, shell-jewels. Before markets were introduced, goods used to be exchanged for food-stuffs or scrap-iron. This bartering was and still is practiced in the *ingo* as before.

But, besides this universal barter-system, there is what I have thought fit to call 'baronial exchange' : it is practised among members of the aristocracy only ; it consists in offering members of the ruling class some specified goods, in exchange for a cow ; but this cow is admittedly worth more than the presented goods. Consequently, the giver of the goods will feel bound to go on making presents, until the recipient of them judges he is indebted in his turn and it is appropriate to bestow another cow. Of course, the recipient of the cows becomes the *muhutu* of the donor. I have gathered several instances of this relationship based on inequality : it occurs among salt-makers, blacksmiths, copper bracelets, peddlars (*abayanganyanga*).

#### *Women's activities*

The wives of the great live in almost complete inactivity : their *inshoreke* (attendants) do the domestic work for them ('they sweep the floor') or more delicate work (as fine basket-work). Only women till the land and make pots in Batwa households. Bahutu women till the land, sometimes, but not always, with the help of their husbands : the husband may have another job when he lives among a chief's attendants, has a trade of his own or peddles goods across the country.



Consequently the men folk, even when they do not cultivate their fields themselves, are reasonably certain, except in the case of famine, to find sufficient food to sustain their lives and this gives their activity a peculiar character. Their activities may be directed towards improving their situation, but their existence does not depend on them: if necessary, they will wait a long time and without impatience for expected grants from the great.

You see Barundi who buy goods on one market and sell them on another where those goods are dearer. You see also Barundi who sell agricultural wares on one market, and with the money buy a greater amount of the same wares on a market where it is cheaper. Result, a greater amount of wares and of money. It is a curious adaptation of the species of speculation to an old non-monetary economic system.

#### *The evolution in progress*

Most chiefs have been converted and have accordingly adopted monogamy: the estate organization based on polygamy must consequently be modified. Belgian administration has deliberately simplified native political methods and considerably reduced its personnel. The numberless services demanded by local leaders have been abolished: some *corvées* are still enforced, the abolition of others has been made good by allowing to the chiefs a percentage of the taxes paid by their subjects. Considerably fewer followers are attached to the chiefs: already the *ntore* have disappeared and the extension of the clerk (*karani*)-system is making the *bagendangi* obsolete. Markets are more and more numerous and money has a circulation wider every day because this circulation is necessary if taxes are to be paid. Purely commercial exchanges will eliminate baronial ex-

changes completely. Speculation is gaining ground. Certain cultures are spreading rapidly (cassava, which grows all the year round and so excludes the threat of famine, coffee which yields a profit in cash, and helps to pay the tax-collector).

Finally, some house-groups have appeared of a type, closer perhaps to town than to village, in the neighbourhood of *bomas* (colonial administration centres) or markets. Their inhabitants it is true are mostly foreigners: Belgian officials, European traders (Greeks), Hindus and Arabs, *baswahili* (Islamized negroes). It remains however that they are an entirely new feature in a country with such a widely dispersed population.

#### *Conclusions*

I thought I could draw your attention to some details of the curious Urundi organization: a dense population, widely dispersed over the cultivable and habitable land according to the geographic possibilities, without any orientation centres (the few habitations of the chiefs cannot be said to produce anything like demographic concentration); the small part played by neighbourhood relations, the predominance of intricate, but personal ties, creating man-to-man dependance, or in other words the primacy of the vertical over the horizontal relationships.

Such an organization was possible in a country almost completely closed to foreign influence, without either markets or money, with a hierarchical structure and must be related to conditions both ethnographical and geographical. This organization is giving way under the influence of European administration, of the development of trade, and of a new economy based more and more upon monetary transactions.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS

**The Structure of the Barundi Community, Ruanda-Urundi Territory, Central Africa.** *A Communication by Dr. Georges Smets, Professor in the Université Libre de Bruxelles and Head of the Institut de Sociologie Solvay: 25 September, 1945.*

This paper is printed in full, MAN, 1946, 6, above. It was discussed by Miss Green, Professor Forde, Mr. Braumholtz, and Mr. Lane. Professor Smets replied.

**The Aboriginal in the Future India.** *Summary of a Communication by W. V. Grigson, C.S.I., I.C.S.: 9 October, 1945.*

The paper deals primarily with the aboriginals of the centre and south of India, not with the Assam hill tribes. For their protection the 1935 constitution provided three safeguards, the partial exclusion from the full operation of provincial autonomy of certain areas

principally inhabited by primitive tribes, and the placing on Governors of two special responsibilities, for the safeguarding of the legitimate rights of minorities and for the peace and good government of the partially excluded areas.

A back-bench revolt in the House of Commons led to a hurried revision of the small list of areas scheduled for partial exclusion in the original Government of India Bill. This revision was based on reports obtained from districts and provinces by the Central Government and sent so quickly to Parliament that there was no time to obtain ethnological opinion or to check district recommendations by local inquiry. The new schedule which became law therefore was not complete: in the Central Provinces and Berar, for example, the partially excluded areas contain only 833,000 out of nearly three million aboriginals, and those who are outside these areas are

often the worst exploited and most in need of protection.

These special provisions did not deprive provincial Ministers of executive authority over the partially excluded areas. Under his Instrument of Instruction a Governor was, in exercising his individual judgement as to these special responsibilities, to be guided by his Ministers' advice, unless he was convinced that to accept that advice would be inconsistent with fulfilment of those responsibilities; he was also directed so to use his powers as not to enable his Ministers to use his responsibilities as an excuse for shirking their own. The initiative in the administration of the partially excluded areas rested with the Ministers.

The Constitution empowered Governors to make Regulations for these areas, and provided that no law of central or provincial legislatures should apply to them unless the Governor applied it by a special notification, with such exceptions and modifications as he thought fit. These powers of course could not help the aboriginals outside the partially excluded areas, whose sole special constitutional safeguard was the special responsibility for minorities, and who otherwise had to depend on the paternalism of officials and their own realization of the power of the vote.

Political tempers in India were short when the Bill became law, and Congress and other critics without pausing to reflect on the real purpose and legal consequences of these provisions fiercely attacked the anthropologists accused of having inspired them, and the provisions themselves as intended to remove from ministerial control the rich natural resources of the areas partially excluded, as protecting peoples who needed no protection, and as based on distrust of Indian fairplay towards backward Indians. More moderate critics rightly pointed out that even before the new constitution British administrators had had no positive policy for aboriginal betterment. The lively controversy that followed stimulated Indian public opinion for the first time to a realization of the existence of the aboriginal problem.

Governors, and their Ministers too, realizing their responsibilities to the tribes and their ignorance about their conditions, for the first time caused systematic inquiries to be made in almost all provinces into those conditions, and in several provinces Advisory Boards and special officers or departments for tribal welfare were recommended or appointed. Unfortunately the war and ministerial resignations have prevented very active implementation of the recommendations of committees and special officers. These results of partial exclusion have however had possibly quicker and greater effect in several Indian States.

Anthropology has hardly yet begun to be applied to the solution of Indian problems. But as a result of increased attention to its teaching in Indian universities, more research by Indian anthropologists and more interest in anthropology by Indian scientific societies, the political prejudice against anthropologists is lessening, and also there is a growing mass of anthropological data about the tribes to be added to the administrative data as bases for formulating a positive policy.

There is now a danger of constitution-makers dropping the present constitutional safeguards, forgetting the aboriginals and leaving them again to *laissez faire*. The time therefore has come to appoint an Indian Royal Commission to synthesize existing data, take stock of tribal conditions and formulate an active betterment policy for the future. Such a Commission must naturally

take into account Russian measures in Central Asia and Siberia, and their results.

The new policy must aim at building up the beginnings of economic as well as political democracy among the primitive tribes, the former by elimination of middlemen through forest co-operatives, co-operative farms, and consumers' co-operatives linked with them. These measures, if they are to remedy the growing pressure on tribal land caused by alienation to non-aboriginals, increase of population, and consequent reduction in the size of holdings and loss of fertility, must increase the transfer of tribal labour to mines and factories, where special attention must be paid to their welfare and training. For framing in political democracy the formation of group *panchayats* is advocated, only the members of which should exercise the franchise for higher local bodies and provincial and central legislatures.

The paper was discussed by Lieut.-Cdr. Barnes, and Dr. Lindgren. Mr. Grigson replied. It is published separately in full, price 2s. 6d.

**The Science of Man in the U.S.S.R.** *Summary of a Communication by Professor V. Gordon Childe, D.Litt., D.Sc., F.B.A., V.P.S.A. : 23 October, 1945.*

In June, 1945, the lecturer had been invited to the U.S.S.R. by the Akademiya Nauk together with other British and foreign scientists to participate in the celebration of the Academy's 220th anniversary. The organization of this international gathering illustrated the importance attached to science by the Soviet Government and peoples: the inclusion among the guests of Professor Childe, Dr. Henry Field and others showed that the sciences of man ranked along with the natural sciences and shared their prestige. Archaeological and anthropological researches were in fact largely (but not exclusively) financed and directed by the Institute for the History of Material Culture (IIMK) under the Academy which disposed of State funds through the Academy. In law its Director and the directors of its branches (Academicians Voronin, Grekov, etc.) enjoyed one-man responsibility like the Director of a factory. The consequent centralization of effort allowed planned research to be carried on consistently over a long term. The lecturer instanced the total excavation of the Tripolye village of Kolomoisheluna, Kuftin's work in Triabeta, Georgia, and Tolstov's explorations in Khorasmia still in progress. The Institute also undertook the publication of results through the Academy's printing and publishing houses. In addition to technical publications and periodicals, cheap and simply worded accounts of results, authoritative and well illustrated, were published in accordance with the Academy's general policy of making the results of science accessible to the wide masses of the people. Books in Russia were in fact extremely cheap.

The Institute maintained in Leningrad a Museum, Laboratory, Library and Archives which continued in an improved form those of the former Imperial Archaeological Commission.

But anthropological research and archaeological excavation were conducted by other bodies such as the Anthropological Institute of Moscow University, the State Hermitage, the State Historical Museum, the Georgian Museum, etc., which also issued their own publications.

Marxism was the officially recognized philosophy of the Union but this did not restrict archaeological and anthropological research any more than the recognition of Christianity did in Britain. In the earlier years of

the Revolution there had admittedly been a tendency to interpret the writings of Marx and Engels in a 'fundamentalist' way but this tendency was on the wane.

This year the lecturer had seen no activities in the domain of social anthropology but had seen a periodical *Sovietskie Folklor* of which seven volumes had been issued up to 1941 when war interrupted publication. In the same way introspective psychology and psycho-analysis did not seem to be extensively pursued in the Union.

Our Soviet colleagues in this as in all other domains of science were eager to collaborate and exchange information with fellow-workers internationally as the celebration itself showed. The exchange of periodicals was only temporarily impeded by transport difficulties that were world-wide. But language was a serious obstacle. Though summaries of all articles were printed in English or French, any serious archaeologist for instance would want to ascertain from the full Russian text of say an excavation report the exact evidence on which the summarized conclusions were based. Indeed such was

the volume and quality of the work now being published in Russian, that advanced workers in every science must possess at least a reading knowledge of that language which might take the place of German.

The same difficulty would impede travel in the U.S.S.R., but that was absolutely impossible without Governmental facilities. The £100 that Britons were allowed to take outside the sterling area, would not keep one a week in Moscow at the official rate of exchange. Soviet scientists for their part would be subject to similar restrictions. Just as in practice no Englishman could travel in the U.S.S.R., unless invited and supported by the Soviet Government or the Academy, so no Soviet archaeologist could visit a museum in Britain or lecture to an English audience without similar financial and official backing here. The idea of an exchange of students and even of professors was favourably regarded in high Soviet circles. It was perhaps for the universities in Britain and the Foreign Office to take the initiative.

The paper was discussed by Professor Forde, Mr. Burkitt, Mrs. Hawkes, Dr. Clark, Dr. Kerr and Mr. Degras. Professor Childe replied.

## PROCEEDINGS OF INSTITUTIONS

### Cape Archaeological Society

**I** The newly-formed Cape Archaeological Society consists of a central body at Cape Town, and local satellite bodies at such places as Kimberley, Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth, Mossel Bay, etc., each with its own committee and with considerable freedom of action.

*Intentions.*—The Society intends to maintain interest in and discussion of archaeological materials and collections associated with the Cape of Good Hope. It will co-operate with museums, universities, schools, government departments, and individuals, and will maintain vigilance in the preservation of sites, materials, collections, and records in private or in public ownership. It is hoped to co-ordinate research, especially in relation to other sciences, and to teach archaeological methods. Funds will be created for the publication of original papers, questionnaires, handbooks, and maps in order to further research into particular fields, and also for controlled excavation and survey work. A library is being built up for the use of members.

In view of the necessary smallness of the Society (in proportion to its intentions), voluntary contributions are invited though few members are likely to be in a position to contribute on any large scale. These contributions may, of course, be immediate, annual, or by legacy.

*Subscriptions.*—The annual subscription for Ordinary Membership is £1, with an entrance fee of 10s. Life Membership is £15. Institutional Membership is £1 per annum. Membership entitles to all publications of the Society, attendance at meetings, etc. In addition, those under twenty-one or full-time students may join the Society as Ordinary Members, or as Junior Associates. The latter enjoy reduced privileges at 2s. 6d. per annum, and are expected to form groups at schools or universities, where facilities can be provided for supplying lecturers, initiating discussions, etc., at their meetings.

*Publications.*—The Society intends producing a duplicated Handbook on the Cape Province, on a five-year basis:

- I 1944-45 Method in Archaeology
- II 1945-46 Bibliography and Commentary

III 1946-47 Survey of implement sites

IV 1947-48 Survey of paintings and engravings

V 1948-49 Survey of physical types

The order of the later volumes may be changed to suit the convenience of authors and the needs of the Society.

As funds and material are available, research papers, notes and news, book reviews, etc., will be published in printed form in addition to the Handbook.

*The Appeal.*—The Society has been founded to cater for those who are interested in a general antiquarian direction. It hopes to allow the amateur the fullest possible scope through other sciences which can be brought to focus upon the archaeological field, whether upon man physically, or his art, or his culture, or his environment. This means that odontology, geology, meteorology, ethnology, zoology, botany, ecology, geography, photography and the studies of comparative religion, anatomy or art can all be brought to bear upon the fascinating problems of man's early story in the Cape of Good Hope and elsewhere.

So far the Society has well over one hundred members, who are drawn from the fields of the church, science, dentistry, medicine, law, the teaching profession, business, journalism and so on. While the appeal is primarily to those with a professional education, it is just as strong to those thinking people whose interests happen to focus, even in a small degree, upon man's past—especially in a country which easily leads the world in the abundance of its prehistoric art and implement sites.

Col. W. E. Hardy,  
President.

Further information from the Secretary, Cape Archaeological Society, Sherwood, Sherwood Avenue, KENILWORTH, C.P. Cheques to be payable to The Treasurer, Cape Archaeological Society, The Chestnuts, Fernwood Avenue, NEWLANDS, C.P.

### Jewish Folklore Institute, Jerusalem

**I** The Jewish Folklore Institute of Jerusalem announces the publication of *Communities, a Quarterly for Folklore and Ethnology*. Each issue will contain for the time being c. 64 pages. The first

number is scheduled to appear in September, 1945. The main body of the journal will be printed in Hebrew with an English summary of each article. Contributions from writers not knowing Hebrew will be printed in English with a summary in Hebrew. The paper will not be confined to Jewish matters; it will contain articles of general folkloristic and ethnological interest, though, among these, priority will have to be given to articles touching upon problems and phenomena connected in

one way or another with the ancient or modern Near East. The quarterly will be published under the joint editorship of Dr. Raphael Patai, Director of the Jewish Folklore Institute of Jerusalem; and Dr. J. J. Rivlin, lecturer of Arabic at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Chairman of the Institute. Contributors and readers of MAN are invited to send articles for publication. Address: The Jewish Folklore Institute, P.O.B. 348, Jerusalem, Palestine.

## REVIEWS

### PHILOLOGY

**The Gift of Tongues.** By Margaret Schlauch. London, Allen and Unwin, 1943. Pp. viii+342. Price 12s. 6d. **12** Professor Schlauch has attempted the difficult task of initiating the layman into the mysteries of language. Difficult, because it is much harder to keep the reader's attention focussed on sounds and words than on visual descriptions of men and things. Difficult, too, because the writer cannot know her reader's linguistic equipment, and must hesitate to cite words from languages outside most people's linguistic range.

The *Gift of Tongues* lacks the sweeping enthusiasm of Max Mueller's *Science of Language*, which took the world by storm in 1860 and was translated into German, French, Italian and Russian. Within the space of 340 pages, covering the function of language, sounds and signs, families of languages, semantics, grammar, the history of English, and other interesting and instructive matter, Dr. Schlauch does succeed in convincing the reader that languages are well worth studying for their own interest, apart from utilitarian considerations. A little more emphasis on the biology of language and its evolution as an exact science would have been welcome, and a table of Indo-European sound-equivalents, as on page xvii of Wyld's *Universal English Dictionary*, would have convinced the sceptical reader more than argument.

Dr. Schlauch will, I hope, forgive me for fulfilling the duty of a reviewer by criticizing this eminently readable book. The italics in every case are the reviewer's.

British readers may be somewhat annoyed by expressions like 'monolingual' (for monoglot), 'to shudder with horror', 'the vasty deep', 'Czechish', and (on page 73) 'ideational'. They will be surprised to learn that 'in colloquial English "city" becomes [sidi]' (p. 176); that 'you can easily drop "it" (the d-sound) out in the English word "meadow"' (p. 183); that 'the sign [l] represents an l-sound made with the "back of the tongue instead of the tip" (p. 69), and that, moreover, 'we frequently drop the final sound of "well" in "informal speech" (p. 25). And is 'Good night!' a slang ejaculation? (p. 82) (I suppose Dr. Schlauch refers to the airy intonation of the U.S.A., unknown in Britain, which is very like the Dutchman's 'g'da-ag'). Once we have reconciled ourselves to the American origin of the book we learn with interest that Americans say [ʃjuɡə] where we say [sugə], though we are surprised to learn that the U.S. pronunciation of 'tube' is [tjub]. We should have thought [tub] in America, [tjub] in England (p. 185). Dr. Schlauch is fortunate in having publishers able to use the more exact International Phonetic System.

Dr. Schlauch's disquisitions on phonetics are quite the weakest part of the book. It is misleading to say that 'if you aspirate the initial sound of "true" you may find yourself saying "through" (English *th* is a dental fricative corresponding to French *t*, whereas the fricative corresponding to English *t* is [s]).' Moreover [p] does not exactly correspond to English [f], which is labio-dental. The word 'aspiration' does not properly describe the fricative off-glides in English [p, k, t].

Several phonetic misprints mar the book—there are no fewer than five in the short phonetic passage on pp. 31-32 alone; the words 'languages', 'arranged', 'foreigner', 'accustomed' and 'orthography' are wrongly transcribed, even from an American point of view.

On the other hand, the author's transcription of Russian is easily the neatest I have so far encountered, with none of that stupid confusion of [j] the consonant and the peculiar *y*-vowel so common even in learned works on Russian and Russia. It should be said once and for all that transcriptions like Vyazma, Potyomkin, Lyudmila, Byelgorod are definitely wrong, and show complete ignorance of Russian. Dr. Schlauch would write them Vjazma, etc. Viazma, etc. would do almost equally well in English settings. Even so, Dr. Schlauch's phonetic rendering of the second vowel of 'gorod' (p. 177) is at fault, as is her rendering of 'modern English "there"' (p. 178), where the sign of length should be omitted. Moreover [ka:] 'car' is not British but Australian pronunciation (p. 25). *Prisljóte* (p. 49) should read either *prislíte* or *paulíte* (imperative, not future); *matér* on p. 56 should read *mětér*, and (Czech) *mam* should read *mám* (p. 55). The word *nomínatj* should be read *ponimátj* (p. 92), and *quismat* should read *qismat* (p. 99); *gosudarstvenoe* on p. 102 should read *gosudárstvennoe*, and for line 3 from the bottom of p. 198 we should read 'O E dšop resembles Ger. tief (deep) *p.f.* On page 201, line 6 from the bottom, for *uneca* read *uneta*.

As one reads Dr. Schlauch's book one gets more and more the feeling that it was written in some haste—hardly excusable even in wartime. Her book lacks the careful approach which is indispensable to any work of science. Some of her theories are hasty, and will not bear scrutiny.

I quote from page 188. 'Scholars are able to make a very good guess about the phonology of Primitive Indo-European.' And again (p. 192), 'When you have mastered them (*i.e.* the rules of phonology) you will be able to make many *canny* guesses about words you encounter in foreign languages, while later on we read '(Phonology) helps you to guess relations intelligently.'

This is really unforgivably unscientific. Surely a century and a half of comparative linguistics should have convinced everybody by now that language is a biological growth, a communal product, subject to the most rigorous laws and by-laws admitting of no exceptions whatever. The formulae governing the growth and change of language are as automatic as are those of chemistry. Dr. Schlauch should have emphasized this point instead of weakening the force of linguistics as an exact science by allowing her readers to 'guess.' We might 'guess' that *cinder* is related to French *cendre*; sorry to sorrow; Spanish *mucho* to much; Spanish *otro, otra* to Lettish *otrs, otra* 'other'; German *krumm* to Welsh *crwm* 'bending'; Latin *habere* to German *haben* 'to have'; English *bad* to Persian *bad* 'bad'; English *better* to Persian *bhtar* 'better'; Greek *holos* to English *whole*, and Greek *pátos* to English *path*, and we should be wrong every time! Even though we apply the rules of phonology we cannot be sure of our ground unless we refer to history and, above all, to parallel dialects. Thus a little historical inquiry will convince us that Lithuanian *gentis* 'tribe' is not related to Latin *gens, gentis*; Lithuanian *tolí* 'far' has nothing to do with Greek *tél-*, and Greek *batós* has nothing to do with English *path*, though the phonological requirements are apparently fulfilled perfectly.

A further instance of an unscientific approach is on p. 191. Here we are advised as follows: 'If you see a short [u] before [l, r, m, n] in a Germanic word, like "sung" or "drunk" you can assume that it goes back to a form with no vowel at all.' This is certainly not true of many non-verbal English words

such as *thumb, hump, thunder*, and many more. On the same page we read 'Our prefix *un-* meaning "not" comes from an "older *n-* alone, vanishing gradation of some syllable like *en-*.' Why 'some syllable like . . .'. The prefix descends quite regularly from neuter grade of prefix *ne-* 'not,' and is cognate with Greek and Sanskrit *a-*, Celtic and Armenian *an-*, Latin *m-*.

Not all will agree with Dr. Schlauch's phonetic values of the Middle English long vowels. In any case there were *two* varieties of 'long *e*,' an open and a closed variety, not one single 'long *e*' as Dr. Schlauch implies. Similarly there was an open and a closed variety of 'o'. The existence of [a:] in Middle English 'father' is highly questionable. Compare the widespread English dialect form 'feyther' which implies Middle English 'open *e*.' Dr. Schlauch fails to mention the interesting cyclic sound-shift of the Middle English long vowels to their modern equivalents.

On pp. 234-239 Dr. Schlauch devotes over five pages to James Joyce's nonsense words. One wonders what this has to do with language, or why these 'words' should be deemed more important than Chinese, a language spoken by nearly a quarter of the world's population, and to which Dr. Schlauch devotes a mere two-thirds of a page. The name Samoyed does not mean 'self-eater' by the way: this is a Russian folk-etymology. Nor is *samo-* 'self' cognate with English 'same' (Slavonic internal *a* corresponds to English *oo* in monosyllables which are not subject to umlaut. Compare Czech *saz* 'soot' with English *soot*; English *same* on the other hand is cognate with the prefix observable in Russian *so-sed* 'together-sitter, neighbour,' Sanskrit *sa-m-yuga* and Lithuanian *sa-junga* 'union').

Dr. Schlauch's bibliography is full and adequate, but she unfortunately does not always cite the latest works. Thus Childe's *Organs* of 1926 is mentioned, but not his *Dawn* of 1939. Walde's Latin Etymological Dictionary is mentioned in the 1910 edition, the latest being that of 1939 with much additional matter, especially from Hittite.

The author of the *Gift of Tongues* should have checked her etymologies. English 'pin' has certainly nothing to do with 'pingle' (p. 125), nor has German 'Wand' anything to do with 'wattle.' The former word means the 'turn' of the room, like Albanian *kthimoe* 'wall' from *kthej* 'I turn.' Disputed theories (*amā-nunī* from *-menoi*) should not have been included.

Dr. Schlauch's chapters on semantics are both entertaining and instructive. In discussing the colouring acquired by the word 'desultory' in America, where the word is presumably stressed on the second syllable, she touches upon a fundamental principle of language-formation. The example illustrates not merely how words are 'subconsciously' modified by other words of similar sound, but also gives a clue as to how new words are born. Thus, says Dr. Schlauch, 'desultory' has assumed connotations of 'lazy, relaxed' (p. 122). The word has clearly, to some speakers, come under the spell of 'sultry' and 'dilatory.' The malapropism 'owdacious' is clearly under the spell of 'ow dare you'.

'buxom,' originally 'lithe, nimble' has long been under the influence of 'bosom' and 'buttocks,' which help to give the word its present meaning. An example of how words are produced can be seen in a recent neologism 'beach-head,' the child of 'bridge-head' and 'Brachy Head.' Still more recently the reviewer noted two further neologisms: 'pleasantry' cf. 'peasantry' and 'pleasantry' and 'Farm Sunday' suggested by 'Palm Sunday.' The all-important thing is that such words are spontaneous creations, untraceable to any single person. At the time the people of Britain introduced the word 'time-bomb' the Germans introduced the word 'Zeitbombe' and the Dutch 'tijdboom,' each independently of the other. Such is linguistic biology.

On neo-grammar we are regaled with many an interesting instance of present trends and usage. A sentence like 'The U.S. is a belligerent country. Its government are sending . . . ' is quite tolerable to-day. But we are justified in quarrelling with the century-old bogey— which Dr. Schlauch has seen fit to revive— that 'laziness of one sort or another explains many changes in speech down through the ages' (p. 22). We thought the 'economy of effort' theories of the

early philologizers were dead and duly buried. Are the Hottentots with their difficult clicks among the world's hardest workers? or are the Danes among the world's greatest slackers?

An original and pleasing feature of the book is a set of questions with which it closes. These are linked with the foregoing chapters. The reviewer found many of them quite entertaining, though a good many were beyond his capacity, even with works of reference to hand. On p. 319, for instance, the reader is invited to explain how Early Germanic 'water' became Modern German 'Wasser.' Does anyone know the answer?

An excellent exercise is suggested on p. 321: 'Quote lines "in Shakespeare using simple Germanic words." Many writers of to-day would improve their style if they would take this advice, and practice the words, if not the idiom, of King Alfred's day. Another exercise, equally good, is: "Study a list of American-English words which have different equivalents in British English." This ought to be done in all our schools.

A reviewer would not be doing his duty to the public were he not to point out the faults of a book. The above criticisms, which a little extra care in editing and proof-reading would have largely made unnecessary, are not intended to discourage the would-be reader. The book is clearly printed, easy in style, and covers the linguistic field sufficiently to give the layman the necessary outline. A book for dipping into rather than for straight reading. STUART E. MAXN

## AFRICA

**Tribal Legislation among the Tswana of the Bechuanaland Protectorate: a study in the mechanism of cultural change.** By I. Schapera. *London School of Economics and Political Science, Monographs on Social Anthropology*, No. 9, 1943. Pp. vi, 101. Map. Price 9s.

The quality of Professor Schapera's field-work in Bechuanaland has been so consistently high, and his publications have maintained such a standard of scholarship, that it is unnecessary for a reviewer to state that *Tribal Legislation among the Tswana* is a valuable contribution to our knowledge. There are, however, theoretical points raised by this small monograph that give it an importance above its size, and make it, in some ways, one of the most stimulating of its author's works.

The book deals with an aspect of culture-change that has been so far neglected by students of black-and-white contact in Africa—the direct changes produced by legislative action such as the decrees of chiefs or the judgments given in tribal courts. Schapera points out that Tswana law was subject to change before the arrival of the European. The common conception of the savage, bound hand and foot by immemorial custom, has been exploded by studies in the field. Schapera shows that Tswana law could be changed by decree, by decisions of the courts, and by the influence of neighbouring tribes. I would add, on the basis of my own experience among Bantu peoples of Northern Rhodesia, where the legal system is less highly developed, it can also be changed by a more or less conscious re-interpretation of custom by the old men.

European rule has, however, admittedly increased the extent of changes in legal codes, and also the rate of such changes. This is natural. The need for change is obviously greater owing to the violent disruption of economic life produced by present-day developments in South Africa, which inevitably alter rules of ownership of land and other property, as well as laws of inheritance and marriage custom. European rule also provides new mechanisms for producing change, and white officials may themselves suggest such changes.

Schapera analyses the means by which legislation is altered in the Tswana group under present-day conditions. The Chief gives, and always gave administrative orders, *e.g.* as to grazing of cattle and the reaping of the crops. He can decide in court whether a usage is to be considered valid, *e.g.* whether the rule of levirate can be enforced under Christian conditions. He can take executive acts as Kgama II did when he created a tribal police. He can abolish religious ceremonies, as circumcision was abolished among the Ngwaketse;

and he can make rules as to payments, e.g. the *boquth*, or marriage payments, were formally abolished in 1820 owing to a cattle dearth and reintroduced later.

It appears from this analysis that the Chief, whether acting on his own or with the support of one of his councils, has more pronounced legislative powers than among other Bantu peoples described and that the legal code is perhaps more clearly formulated among the Sotho peoples. The Basuto speak of 'the laws of Lerethodi,' and Schapera describes here the instance of a written code of sixty laws among the Ngwaketse in 1912. Whether or not this codification of tribal law is due to long contact with European influence is not clear, but Schapera's account of the mechanism of legal change is one which should stimulate comparative research in different parts of Africa.

The monograph also describes the scope of change affected. These paragraphs are in some ways, surprising. We should expect, it is true, to find that during fifty years of close contact with Europeanism changes in family law, land tenure, trade, the handling of livestock, and other aspects of economic life had become necessary. It is not unnatural too, that as tribute was formerly demanded by Chiefs, that the abolition of tribute and the introduction of taxes should be imposed by legal decree. It is surprising, however, to find that some of the most pronounced changes introduced by legislation among the Tswana concern the abolition of drink and of religious ceremonies. Most of the Tswana tribes have attempted to legislate as to the sale and consumption of liquor, and to forbid the practice of initiation and other ceremonies. Tribal religion is one of the spheres in which European Governments are reluctant to interfere and in which the conservatism of the people would be most likely to express itself. The Tswana chiefs do not seem to have had many scruples on this point. The explanation lies perhaps in the fact that the forbidding of religious ceremonies or of the sale of drink are both attempts to avoid conflict between the Christian and non-Christian members of the tribe and between the Tswana and the missionaries who live among them; and a conscious attempt to prevent the splitting up of the tribe into different elements is common to all types of Bantu chieftainship described.

Another interesting aspect of culture change which Schapera stresses is the part played by individual Chiefs in introducing new decrees. The five Tswana tribes dealt with are subject to much the same economic conditions and to the same type of European administration, yet there is considerable difference in the legal decisions taken by their Chiefs. The Ngwato and the Ngwaketse abolished initiation ceremonies before the others, and the Ngwato and the Tswana abolished *boquth* considerably ahead of the rest. The difference, Schapera suggests, is due to personal factors. This is an interesting and novel suggestion which should lead to further inquiry. The individual tends to be neglected in studies of primitive society and I do not know of any previous attempt to estimate the extent to which they influence tribal policy by means of a comparative study of a congeries of closely related tribes. It is impossible to judge here whether Schapera is correct. The differential reaction to change he describes might be due to the individual characters of Chiefs, but it also might result from differences in the political balance of these five tribal systems and a different allocation of power within the tribe. Some Chiefs evidently can rule only with the consent of their people and others have carried through measures against the wishes of the tribe.

Lastly, this monograph seems to me important as an essay in detailed comparative work. Schapera's main work has, of course, been done among the BaKgatla. He has, however, been employed recently on a survey of four other clusters of Tswana peoples, the Kweni, the Ngwato, the Tawana, and the Ngwaketse. The present work not only compares the tribal legislation of these five groups but makes a claim for the value of such detailed comparative work among contiguous people as distinct from the much broader type of generalization to be found in such recent works as *African Political Systems*, edited by Evans Pritchard and Fortes.

It is certainly a type of work much needed in the African colonies and so far, largely neglected from want of personnel. American anthropologists have made detailed regional studies

of tribal variations in material culture, ritual and other aspects, but as far as Africa is concerned, we have had to proceed by the spot method. Field-workers have concentrated on one tribe in Tanganyika and another in Nyasaland for instance, for various adventitious reasons. South African Universities have somewhat the same opportunities as American Universities to develop detailed comparative work in contiguous areas and it is to be hoped that institutions such as Achunota and Makerere will soon undertake similar work.

Schapera draws one general comparative conclusion, i.e. that mechanisms for changing legislation are more developed among the Sotho than among the Nguni-speaking peoples. This he puts down possibly to the type of indirect rule developed in the Protectorates. He also thinks it may be due to neglect of the problem of legislation by field-workers in Nguni areas. It is clear, however, that there is a field for much more detailed comparative work. Schapera's own description of the variations in the Chief's power between the ruler who consults his inner council, his council of headmen, or both these councils and the popular assembly gives us an example of this kind of comparative work. Detailed material on the balance of political power among the Tswana peoples; the relation of the legal and political powers of the Chiefs; the powers of the Chief in relation to those of the District Heads; and the reaction of these people to British administration might well lead to generalizations of great practical and theoretical importance, and it is to be hoped that Schapera will undertake such a structural comparison.

A useful appendix giving a list of the legal codes of the Tswana is published with the main material. A. I. R.

**North Africa.** By Alan H. Brodrick. Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. 2, 98. Illustrated. Price 3s. 6d.

**14** This little book is a compound of history, geography, and travel, with political and economic observations by the way. Its interest for the anthropologist is negligible. Indeed, some of the author's statements in this field are most questionable. To say that Berber society never established political institutions of its own on a larger scale than that of a village, reveals an astonishing lack of understanding of the political leagues of tribes which, until recently, were so active among the Jbala, Rif, and High Atlas Berbers, as formerly among those of the Algerian Tell. Further, in view of the development in Southern Morocco of a unique form of fortified village structure, it is absurd to say the Berbers have evolved no architecture worthy of the name.

The reviewer who, through considerable close association with them, retains the pleasantest recollections of the courtesy and hospitality of the Tangermes, finds it necessary to repudiate the author's description of their behaviour as 'insolent brusqueness.'

Blemishes of these kinds apart, the book can be recommended as a well-informed and well-presented general account of conditions in North Africa prior to the recent occupation by the Allied forces. It has three useful maps—two concerned with the Trans-Saharan railway—eight photographic illustrations, and an index. WALTER FOGG

## INDIA

**Peoples of India.** By Wm. H. Gilbert, Jr. Smithsonian Institution 'War Background Studies,' No. 18. Pp. iv, 86. 3 maps, and 21 plates.

**15** A very complete and on the whole accurate sketch of the main geographical and cultural features of India, covering its climate, vegetation, animals, and geology; its archaeology, material culture, and racial types; its population, health, nutrition, sociological, and economic aspects; its history, government, and politics; its languages, religions, games, and arts; its cultural and ethnic divisions, and its society in general. Castes and the caste system are dealt with more fully than one might expect in a survey of so much in so little; and, besides some account of the Indian peoples' contribution to the Allied war effort, a selected bibliography of over fifty items is given, and the illustrations are admirable, both in choice of subject and in execution. There are a number of minor errors, some of which rather suggest that



the author did not know India very well. His natural history is more than once seriously at fault. Thus he speaks of 'the Mahseer or Indian trout,' but *Barbus tor* is nothing like a trout, though the name 'Indian trout' is sometimes given to the entirely different *Barilus bola*. Again he says that 'the gayal or Indian cattle abound throughout the agricultural areas and possess disease-resistant qualities which led to their importation into the United States for cross breeding.' Here he is obviously speaking of *Bos indicus*; the gayal (*Bos frontalis*) is entirely different from the zebu and is kept only in a semi-feral condition in the hills of Assam and Burma. Similar mistakes occur in other contexts. The essential unity of Kerala, we are told, depends on the distribution of the Malayalam language, but much of what is generally regarded as Kerala nowadays uses Kanarese, if not other Dravidian languages, since Mysore State and part at least of Coimbatore District are usually regarded as forming part of Kerala. Again we are told that 'except on the western coastal areas and in Bengal' the head-form tends to be universally long, but the brachycephalic strain that predominates in the west north of the Malabar coast is far from being restricted to coastal areas. It is found at its height in Coorg and Mysore and mixes unmerged with the dolichocephalic strain across to the Coromandel coast in the south as well as throughout the Central Provinces, Baluchistan, and much of the North-West Frontier. The statement, likewise, that the Mongoloid type of the north-east 'is best represented by the Angami Naga, Mikir, and Bodo' is unfortunate, for the Angami with their cymotrichous hair and often pronouncedly Caucasian features constitute perhaps the least Mongoloid of the Naga tribes. If he reject the spelling 'Synteng' for the Assam tribe of that name, he must not suppose that the *y* is equivalent to a diphthong; as a matter of fact it is a Welsh spelling of the short neutral vowel.

A number of similar inaccuracies appear in other parts of the book. *Adiravula* and *Adikaravataka*, for instance, are not the names of castes but, meaning as they do 'original inhabitants of Dravida or of the Carnatic,' are euphuistic evasions of caste-names which are utilized by a number of different castes. There are a few misprints—'card' for 'card' on p. 22, 'Iqbul' for 'Iqbal' on p. 58, and in a bibliography of fifty items it is quite disproportionate to include two monographs on the Lepcha, a very small tribe indeed, although the only individual tribe appearing in the bibliography at all, while the *Cambridge History of India* is omitted and O'Malley's *Modern India and the West*. Blackham's *Incomparable India* might also well have been included even in a short selection. Nevertheless taken as a whole the book is an excellent introduction for persons wishing to learn something of India, and fully deserves inclusion in the admirable series of which it forms part.

J. H. H.

**The Gondwana and the Gonds.** By Indrajit Singh. Lucknow (Universal Publications), 1944. Pp. vi, 201. Illustrated. Price Rs. 12.

In his preface, when considering the great changes which culture contact has brought about in the lives of primitive aborigines of India, Dr. Singh says:

'A scientific approach to the problems of primitive life and conduct is extremely helpful in the present state of society in India, as it may indicate the direction of social reform, and that the anthropologist can help the people by pointing out the social and survival values of primitive traits of culture, by representing the results of his investigation in such a way that the practical man may apply them to his problems. It is with this attitude that the following account of Gond life has been presented.'

This approach is topical and full of interest, and had Dr. Singh followed it up, he might indeed have some claim to be the pioneer which Dr. Majumdar (quoted on the wrapper) claims him to be. It is, however, disappointing to find that, for by far the greater part of the book, this aim is a very secondary matter. For Dr. Singh uses most of his chapters to give an account of Gond society. This description is on the whole factual and objective, and some of it is lucidly given in the form of statistical tables. It is, however, regrettable that Dr. Singh seems to be torn between two purposes.

On the one hand he wishes to give the reader a survey of Gond society, as a background to problems of culture contact, and on the other to make a study of primitive economics as observed in that tribe. The result of this is that neither purpose is fulfilled, and the reader who wishes to be presented with a broad outline fails to find it, while to the economist the study proves incomplete, especially concerning Gond methods of distribution.

A danger which Dr. Singh does not altogether avoid is that of making his chapters into rigid compartments of subject-matter. This leads to inevitable redundancies and tends to obscure any view of Gond life as an integrated whole. But the material is handled in an interesting and refreshing manner, as, for instance, when the psychological significance of the co-operation which is demanded by Gond fishing methods is shown and when Gond admiration for leadership and Gond ability to organize labour are discussed. One sympathizes with the evident desire to defend the Gonds from accusations of immorality and laziness, etc., but it would appear (even on the author's own admission) that the data are insufficient to make out a good case. This is especially apparent in the chapter concerning the Gonds' capacity for work, where the facts are vague and unsubstantiated.

The last chapter in this book, 'Culture and Acculturation,' is enlightening. But its value would have been greatly enhanced if the theories had been more fully supported, not only with figures, but also with scientific accounts of the modifications which have taken place in specific villages and among specific groups of craftsmen. Dr. Singh is perhaps at his best in this chapter and it might have been well had he amplified it (even at the expense of previous chapters) and concentrated upon the problem of culture-contact as proposed in his preface.

There are many misprints, and the paper used is poor: the illustrations are blurred and not correlated to the text; a proper map is badly needed, the only one given forming the background of the wrapper; there is a glossary, but the index is poor, and its contents under any given letter not even arranged alphabetically. The general impression given to the reader is so much one of carelessness that doubt is engendered as to how far reliance can be placed upon statements of fact made in the book.

S. C. SOLOMON

**Report on the Census of Jammu and Kashmir, 1941.**

By Capt. R. G. Winyard (Jammu 1943: Rs. 5 8 -) forms Volume XXII in the Census of India, 1941, series.

In conformity with the general policy of the Government of India at the last census no attempt is made to examine in detail the demographic material obtainable from the record. The figures are presented as statistics for the use of the public generally, and the official departments concerned with them; the letter-press which accompanies the tables of figures aims merely at presenting a synoptic view of the State as an organic and developing whole. Such a policy is no doubt in accordance with the presentation of census returns in most countries, but it very greatly reduces the interest of the Indian Census Reports to anthropologists, and probably to others also. Thus this report on Kashmir, devoting a short paragraph to 'archaeology,' remarks that 'the State is rich in places of archaeological interest . . . and discoveries of interest to the student of archaeology were made at Martand and Gilgit.' But the student who wants to know what these discoveries were will have to search the archives of the Department of Archaeology; he will find no further information in the *Census Report*. This principle holds good throughout the 1941 Indian Census Reports generally, though there are exceptions, such as that published on the Rapitana Agency under the title of *These Ten Years*. The others, generally speaking, hold little matter of direct value to anthropologists.

J. H. H.

**The Bhils of Gujarat.** By D. N. Majumdar. Reprinted from the *Gujarat Research Society's Journal*, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1942. Pp. 220-237. Illustrated.

'The Bhils of Gujarat' is the title of a short article of little over a dozen pages reprinted from the *Gujarat Research Society Journal* (Vol. IV, No. 3, 1942), in which Dr.

Majumdar deals in a preliminary way with what he is pleased to call the 'raciology' of the Bhils. Various theories of Bhil affinities are recounted by the author, who is inclined to reject, on what seem to be rather slender grounds, the generally accepted association of the Bhils (and the probably allied Koli caste) with the Kolarian-speaking tribes. Dr. Majumdar also includes a brief account of Bhil culture, mainly concerned with their marriage ceremonies. The most important part of the article is the third section, on blood groups. The author has taken a series of tests, considerably more extended than Macfarlane's, and has reached a different conclusion as to the proportions of B to A and O, but this divergence is not necessarily a reason for doubting the substantial accuracy of Macfarlane's results: for if one thing about the Bhil physical types is clear, it is that it is very much mixed indeed, and the Bhils have been unduly influenced by Rajput and other blood as well as by Rajput culture. The author claims that his anthropometric statistics, when analysed, will finally solve the question of Bhil racial affinities—whether they do or do not, it may be hoped that the horrid term 'raciology' may be discarded, however appropriate such a hybrid word may be to such a hybrid race. J. H. H.

### PACIFIC

**The Making of Modern New Guinea.** By Stephen Winsor Reed. *American Philosophical Society Memoirs*, Vol. XVIII, Philadelphia, 1943. Pp. xiv, 326. 4 dollars.

This book traces the history of culture contact in the mandated territory of New Guinea from the first establishment of European trading posts to the present day. The author has made an extensive study of the literature on the subject and has himself spent nine months in the Territory, the first six among the Kwoma of the Upper Sepik and the rest in a general survey of conditions.

This is the first study of culture contact that avowedly adopts Malinowski's theory of the new culture, neither European nor native, that grows up in the colonial situation. The result is a presentation of New Guinea society that shows it as a whole and not merely as the sum of elements derived from different sources.

This method of presentation, while it brings out very effectively the type of 'caste society' that has been built up at the points of direct contact, where the native is engaged in wage-labour, is less satisfactory as regards the indirect effects of culture contact on the life of the native area. It concentrates entirely on the positive contribution of the two cultures to the new composite, and neglects the problems, equally important for the study of the contact process, of the institutions which have disappeared without any equivalent for them having been developed. It is obvious that such problems must have arisen in the past of many societies and must have eventually been solved by a readjustment of some kind. But that is no reason for ignoring them if they appear at the moment when there are opportunities for observing them.

The Australians in New Guinea, as the dominant group, have moulded the new 'kanaka culture' in the way that

seems to them best calculated to enable them to maintain their own institutions. The Melanesians have had no such opportunity, and for them the background of the 'kanaka society' is the community of women, children and old men to which the youths are obliged by law to return for at least three months every six years 'to keep village life alive and reproduce their kind' (p. 184). No irony appears to be intended by this statement. If the indentured labourer on a mine or plantation can fairly be said to have adopted a new culture, it is more difficult to make this description fit the circumstances of the villager, for whom the impact of European influence has meant primarily the disorganization of his accustomed system of economic co-operation and the destruction of his institutions. This is not a situation which will disappear with the passing of the older generation, since the vast majority of women continue to spend their whole lives in the villages. If this negative aspect of culture-contact is overlooked, a full picture of the process is not given.

Mr. Reed does not ignore it altogether, but he treats it only incidentally. This is inevitable, since to analyze the effect of the contact of two cultures on the institutions of the weaker requires more detailed study than he was able to make.

The most interesting part of the book is his study of the Australian reaction to the problems arising in connexion with the administration of the Territory. His conclusion is that the native population will become more and more dependent on wage labour, and the 'caste system' more and more rigid. L. P. MAIR

**The Word 'Ogham.'** By L. J. D. Richardson, M.A., *Lecturer in Latin, University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, Cardiff.* Reprinted from *Hermathena*, LXII, 1943. Hodges, Figgis & Co., Dublin. Pp. 12. Price 6d.

Although I am not competent to pronounce a verdict on Professor R. A. S. Macalister's theory that Ogham writing was derived from an early form of the Greek alphabet, his method of argument has always seemed to me most convincing. And so it has to Mr. Richardson who in this paper carries the argument a stage further to show that the word 'ogham' is derived from the Greek *Agma*. Mr. Richardson holds that the inventors of Ogham produced 'a set of cryptic signs,' basing their content on the phonology of that form of 'the Greek alphabet' with which they were acquainted. It was likely, Mr. Richardson maintains, that they would 'name this alphabet from some peculiarity which distinguishes it from others or from the original model.' And so it was called the *Agma* alphabet because it improved on the exemplar in so far as it provided a special character for a sound called *agmu* by the Greeks without, however, having been differentiated by them in their writing. This *Agma* script remained the preserve of a dominant priestly class and in time the name *Agma* or *Ogma* was extended from the writing to the then mythical inventor, the eponymous Oghma.

This, in brief, is Mr. Richardson's main thesis. His presentation of it is so complete and flawless that it cannot fail to convince. IORWERTH C. PEATE

## CORRESPONDENCE

**The Aboriginal Population of Europe.** Cf. MAN, 1945, 54. **21** SIR.—In his interesting paper on language problems in post-war Europe (MAN, 1945, 54), Mr. Stuart Mann refers, though without approbation, to an ancient view that the Basques, or as he calls them Basks, are the descendants of the otherwise extinct Mediterranean Europeans. This view is clearly incorrect, for the earliest people that we know of in the Mediterranean area is that brunette, narrow-headed type that, half a century ago, Sergi called the Mediterranean Race. North Africa, from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, is peopled by men of this type with relatively few intruders. The same type is found in large parts of Portugal and Spain, in southern France, in western and southern Italy, in most of the Aegean islands, and in some Greek districts as well as in coastal areas of Anatolia. Farther north the same type occurs, mixed with others, in Brittany, Cornwall, Ireland,

Wales, especially in the south, and in the west of Scotland. This northern extension seems to have taken place in the third millennium B.C.

In North Africa most of these people talk Arabic, though some tribes, such as the Kabyles, Tuaregs, and Shawiya, speak non-Aryan and non-Semitic dialects, which have been grouped together under the name of Hamitic. In Europe people of this type speak the Aryan language of the country, but long ago Sir John Morris Jones pointed out that the Welsh and Irish languages differed from other Aryan tongues in their syntax, which resembles that of the Hamitic group. We may conclude, therefore, that the Mediterranean Race originally spoke a Hamitic tongue.

Mr. Mann also suggests, on the authority of Elcock, that the Basque language may have spread over the Alps as far as the Carpathians. If this can be substantiated, it seems to show



that it is the last relic of the original language of the Western Alpines.

Now it has been stated, I believe, that the Georgian language shows some slight affinities with the Basque. Georgian is classed by Russian linguists as a member of the Japhetic group, which includes the non-Aryan substratum of the Armenian tongue, and the language used in the Hittite tablets, which is usually called Arianic. If this connection can be proved, then the original language of the Western Alpines must have been related to that spoken by the eastern group, which is found to-day between the Dniare Alps and the Armenian mountains. HAROLD J. E. PEAKE

#### A Cypro-Mycenæan Jeweller's Mould. Illustrated

**22** SIR,—The drawing published herewith was given to me in 1913 by Mr. Markides, then Keeper of the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia. It was made by a young French artist Jean des Meules, and the object was then in private possession in Cyprus. It is a four-square slab of soft stone, probably steatite, and has hollows in its flat surface for casting ear-rings of a type with simply overlapping suspension loop, some with a plain swollen body, but one with a pendant with granular ornament in relief, of a design which is common in Cypro-Mycenæan tombs of the fourteenth and thirteenth

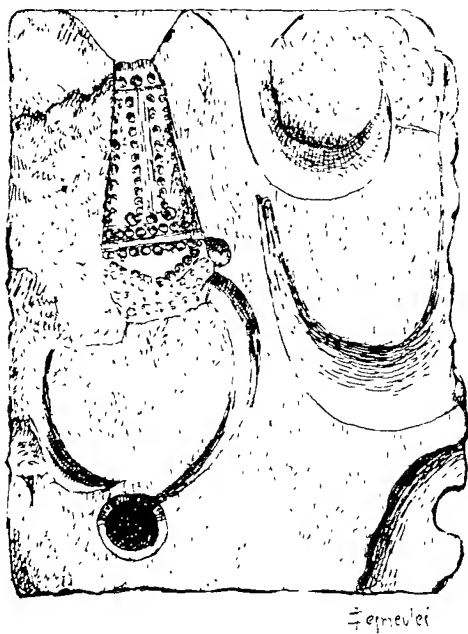


FIG. 1. STONE MOULD FOR GOLD ORNAMENT: CYPRUS  
The ear-ring on the left is upside-down

century at Enkomi and elsewhere in Cyprus: see British Museum *Excavations in Cyprus*, 1899, Pl. x. 412-415 (plain), xi. 427-9, xii 382-3 (granulated). The latter is there shown (xii. 452-3) by intermediate types to be derived from a bull's head. The ornament is also a degenerate imitation of real granulation with soldered gold balls. The channels by which the molten metal was poured into the mould are shown on the lower edge of the slab. There was of course a similar mould to fit on to this, secured by a dowel through the deep circular hole above the bull's horns.

The interest of this mould is as evidence that such ornaments were made in Cyprus, not necessarily imported, and consequently as confirming the view that the rich Cypro-Mycenæan cemeteries of Cyprus represent an extensive colonization from the Aegean, not mere trading stations or purchasers of Mycenæan goods. JOHN L. MYRES

#### Feminine Disabilities. Cf. MAX, 1945, 77.

**23** SIR.—I write with reference to Lord Raglan's letter on feminine disabilities (MAX, 1945, 77) to point out that the division of labour between the sexes, which I understand him to attribute to an irrational belief, is in part at any rate the obvious result of physiological differences. Under primitive conditions the men hunt because a pregnant woman cannot run after a deer or away from a wild buffalo. The same consideration probably applies to the earlier stages of the domestication of animals. Further, in at least one Central Asian tribe the women milk the cattle or sheep while the men undertake the more difficult and to some extent more dangerous work of milking the mares. In primitive agriculture in Assam, the men do the felling of the trees and clearing of jungle because the work is too heavy for the women, who are, as generally among humans, less muscular. Less serious agricultural operations are shared, though a man initiates sowing (as a woman does reaping) for precisely such reasons as Lord Raglan suggests in his letter. J. H. HUTTON

#### Osiris and Dionysus. Cf. MAX, 1945, 38.

**24** SIR.—I do not feel competent to criticize Mr. Hornblower's theory regarding the origins of Osiris: that is a matter for an Egyptologist who has also an adequate knowledge of the relevant parallel material. I wish merely to point out two trifling flaws in his classical references, which between them slightly weaken some of his subsidiary conclusions.

(1) The 'bridge-jestings,' *gephyrismoi*, in which the Eleusian initiates took part, or to which they were subjected, were not 'thrown at' them 'on their return to Athens,' but on their way to Eleusis. See, for the facts and also for a not unfounded doubt if the *gephyrismoi* were a piece of ritual at all, the standard work on Athenian cults, L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 73.

(2) When sundry Greeks call Dionysus *διμήτωρ*, which Ovid renders by *bimater*, the resemblance between this and the curious Egyptian reference to Horus as 'born of Two Sisters' is illusory. Dionysus, according to his legend, was rescued yet unborn from the body of his mother Semele, and enclosed in the flesh of Zeus' thigh till the period of gestation was finished. He thus had in a sense two mothers, one of them being his father. Nothing of the sort, I believe, is related of Horus. Also, the passage quoted for Horus is, I gather, from a kind of litany: all the earlier references to Dionysus as 'two-mothered' are purely literary, and the single late ritual occurrence is from an Orphic hymn, one of a class of compositions which reek of literary influence and are in the last degree artificial. See Liddell-Scott Jones under *διμήτωρ*. H. J. ROSE

#### Correction:—MAX, 1945, 37.

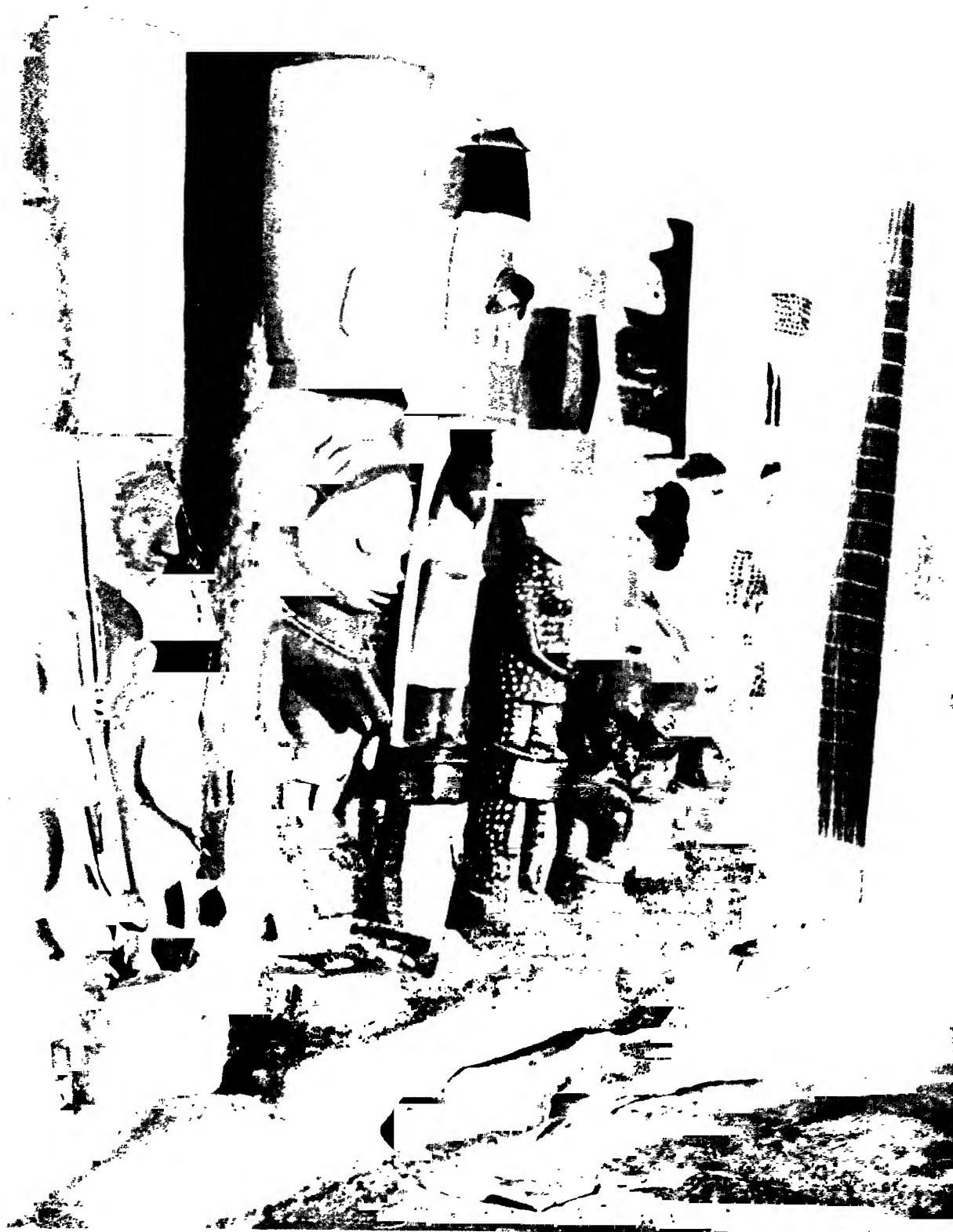
**25** On the diagram illustrating the article of Professor C. van Riet Lowe on *The Evolution of the Levallois Technique in South Africa*, MAX, 1945, 37 (pp. 57-58), the two halves of the diagram should have been printed face to face, as indicated by the directions in the margin.

The scale also has been incorrectly stated: it should be  $\frac{1}{2}$  (one-eighth) natural size. This is important, in view of the very large dimensions of some of the specimens, e.g. the larger core illustrating phase II on p. 57 is 15 inches long and 8 inches deep: the lesser 'Proto Levallois I' core is 7 inches long and nearly 3 inches deep. C. VAN RIET LOWE

#### Correction:—Saharan Civilization. Cf. MAX, 1945, 38 (p. 61, col. 2).

**26** SIR.—In MAX, 1945, 38 (p. 61, end of col. 2), following the preliminary conclusions of the discoverers, I attributed prehistoric age to the 'Saharan Civilization'. Later examination has made this attribution unsafe and it should be withdrawn. G. D. HORNBLOWER





I.—THE SHANGO TEMPLE AT IBADAN, NIGERIA  
THE CARVED PILLARS ON THE RIGHT SIDE, SEEN FROM THE LEFT

*Photograph by the late H. V. Meyerowitz*

# MAN

## A RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES

**NOTES ON THE KING-GOD SHANGO AND HIS TEMPLE AT IBADAN, SOUTHERN NIGERIA.** *By*  
*Eva L. R. Meyerowitz. With Plate B. and illustrations.*

#### I

**27** Shango is the god of thunder, lightning and fire of the Yoruba people and is symbolized by the double-axe, meteorites, and thunderbolts. If one analyses the myths, legends, and traditions connected with this god, one comes to the conclusion that he is a composite figure, *i.e.* Shango is (*a*) a god of the type of the Egyptian-Nubian sky and meteorite gods, and (*b*) a king who played an important part in early Yoruba history and who was deified although, strictly speaking, he was not an ancestor king or founder of a newly-formed state. This is remarkable, for it was usually the ancestor king or founder of a dynasty, who, according to a custom of some ancient Sudanese states which derived their culture from Nubia (*meroë*), was identified in one way or another with the deity of the dominating tribe. In the Yoruba country it was originally Oduduwa.



FIG. 2 —THE SHANGO TEMPLE AT IBADAN. FULL VIEW OF THE INTERIOR, SHOWING THE CARVED PILLARS 1-14, THE TOP OF THE SWISH-PROSCENIUM, AND THE PRIEST IN FRONT OF THE ALTAR WITH THE WALLETS OF SHANGO ON THE BACK WALL.

*Photograph by Eva L. R. Meyerowitz.*

the first king of the conquering Borgu dynasty, who was deified and merged with the earth-goddess of the same name :<sup>1</sup> but later on Shango, owing to his strong and colourful personality and his powerful ancestry (he was an offspring of two rival royal houses) eclipsed Oduduwa and took his place.

### *The god Shango*

It appears that he was derived from the Nubian god Amun (in the Sahara and Sudan usually called Aman) who was brought into Yoruba and Nupe by refugee tribes from Nubia, now generally called Blemy-Zaghawa. The bulk of these tribes was forced to leave Nubia after A.D. 629 when a Sassanid Persian army in occupation of Egypt was beaten, and retreating into Nubia, exerted such pressure on the many tribes and peoples there that the great Kisra migration set in to the various parts of the western Sudan.

Shango's derivation from Amun becomes quite clear when one realizes that these two deities not only have the same functions<sup>2</sup> but also the same symbols, for both represent predominantly the destructive aspect of the sky with its thunder, lightning and dangerous storms,<sup>3</sup> both have the double-axe as an emblem and are symbolized in the meteorite<sup>4</sup> and thunderbolt. On the other hand they also send the rains and control the waters<sup>5</sup> and are, therefore, to a certain extent, fertility deities.<sup>6</sup> Both are solarized<sup>7</sup> and their sacred animal is the ram ;<sup>8</sup> finally, both are slayers of enemies.

<sup>1</sup> Represented as a sitting woman nursing a child, Oduduwa is worshipped by the people as an earth-goddess : simultaneously at the Palace at the Alafin of Oyo, Oduduwa is worshipped as the founder of the Yoruba state, all of which clearly shows the dual origin of this deity.

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Wainwright, 'Some Aspects of Amun,' *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, November, 1934.

<sup>3</sup> After the king Shango was merged with the god 'Shango' his wife Oya was created the goddess of tornadoes and violent storms but Shango kept the double-axe, the traditional weapon of the storm-gods in Egypt and the Near East. Oya was symbolized by two naked swords and the horns of a buffalo; on the other hand some statuettes show her head surmounted by a large double-axe. According to Wainwright 'The Bull Standards of Egypt,' *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, XIX, 1933. 'The double-axe is a skeuomorphic representation of lightning, for both it and the lightning split whatever they strike.'

<sup>4</sup> Amun was represented by a meteorite in his Temple at Thebes; Shango is represented by meteorites in his Temple at Ibadan.

<sup>5</sup> This activity was also taken over by Oya and Shango's two other wives, each representing a river in the Yoruba country. The Niger river, for instance, is called Odo Oya, that is, the container of Oya.

<sup>6</sup> Leo Frobenius, *Das Unbekannte Afrika*, Munich, 1923, p. 151, shows old sacrificial vessels of the Shango cult on which the double-axe is transposed into male sexual organs. The thunderbolt is also regarded as the semen of Shango.

<sup>7</sup> See, Shango typical Sun-god, Leo Frobenius, *The Childhood of Man*, Ch. xx, London, 1909.

<sup>8</sup> In the Palace of the Alafin of Oyo a Shango priestess is in charge of the sacred Ram which is allowed to go everywhere unmolested and may eat with impunity anything from the vendors on the market.

Statuettes from the Egyptian late Kingdom and later, depict Amun as such a slayer brandishing a club : some figures in brass and wood show Shango with his club Oshe, and occasionally he is referred to as Jakuta, the hurler of stones (meteorites).

Further evidence that Shango may have been derived from Amun and the meteorite gods of Egypt and Nubia in general, can be found in the legend of Shango's ascent into heaven on an iron chain. This seems to be a variation of the 'rope ladder theme' of Letopolis<sup>9</sup> which was the sacred town of the Egyptian meteorite and thunderbolt gods. According to Wainwright, the idea of ascent into heaven in a thunderstorm and that of heavenly ropes which were likely to have been represented by shooting stars or meteorites,<sup>10</sup> was well established in Egypt.<sup>11</sup>

The god Shango's original name Aman is, in my opinion, still retained in the figure of the Ibadan-Aman, standing near the altar in the Shango Temple at Ibadan. Aman is said to stand there 'to show that the god is a native of Ibadan.' In this instance Aman is quite obviously identified with Shango.

### *The king Shango*

The country now called Yoruba was, from the sixth to the twelfth century of our era, a vassal state of Nupe,<sup>12</sup> then called Ambara, and was ruled by a Nupe dynasty which, in the Shango legends, is called Tapa or Takpa—the Yoruba word for Nupe. At the beginning or middle of the twelfth century a king or prince of Borgu with people from his kingdom and that of Yarriba<sup>13</sup> suddenly pushed south and invaded and occupied Ambara which, from then on was named after the Yarriba, or, as it is pronounced to-day, Yoruba.<sup>14</sup> The Borgu prince or king, known to us as Oduduwa, became the ruler over the conquered territory and founder of a dynasty which rules to this day.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> G. A. Wainwright, 'Letopolis,' *Jour. Eg. Arch.*, XVII, November, 1932.

<sup>10</sup> Meteorites contain iron which may explain the substitution of an iron chain for ropes in the Shango legend.

<sup>11</sup> Further, there is also the 'sacred flame' at Letopolis and the 'sacred fire' of Shango which relights the extinguished home fires at the solstice. Fire walking and fire dances were connected with the fire ceremonials of both deities.

<sup>12</sup> The first Nupe kingdom or empire was founded by the before-mentioned Blemy-Zaghawa during the middle of the seventh century. Its founder is said to have been a descendant of the kings of Napata in Nubia and the Yoruba word Tapa is believed to be a corruption of Napata. See L. Frobenius, *Und Africa sprach*, II, p. 619.

<sup>13</sup> Leo Frobenius, *Und Africa sprach*, II, p. 618.

<sup>14</sup> It is not at all clear whether at that time Yarriba (the Hausa term for Yarba) was a separate kingdom, or a vassal state of Borgu, or a kingdom which had a dynasty originating from Borgu. I suppose that the last was the case as S. Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas*, p. 6, only speaks of Yarriba and makes no mention of Borgu.

<sup>15</sup> Leo Frobenius, *Und Africa sprach*, I, p. 210, and II, p. 618, A new dynasty from Borgu. P. 629, The Borgu dynasty still in existence in Yoruba in A.D. 1486.



FIG. 3.—THE SHANGO TEMPLE AT IBADAN: THE CARVED PILLARS 8-15 ON THE RIGHT SIDE

*Photograph by the late H. V. Megerout:*

Except for some garbled traditions we know nothing of the early history of the invaders in Yoruba, but it appears that, perhaps after two or three decades of fighting with the Nupes, the adversaries came to an understanding and alliances were formed between the two countries, supported by intermarriages between the two royal houses: in other words it may be presumed that the Nupe ceased to interfere with the invaders, so long as the latter recognized their suzerainty in one way or another. (This may not have consisted of more than a military alliance sealed by a symbolical tribute, thus securing the Nupe border for the Yoruba, giving them time to consolidate their conquest and enabling them to plan for further expansion in the other direction.)

Olofiran, better known as Shango in legends and traditions, was an offspring of such an intermarriage. His father was Oranyan, grandson of Oduduwa, the founder of the Borgu dynasty in Yoruba, and his mother was a daughter of the Nupe king Elempe, of the Tapa dynasty which once ruled the country. Shango therefore combined in his person the two dynasties which had fought for the supremacy in Yoruba. As such he should have made an admirable

heir to the throne, particularly at a time of internal tension between the Yoruba and Nupe sections of the population. But his much older half-brother Ajaka was the regent chosen by Oranyan and later succeeded this king to the throne. However, as Ajaka was too peace loving a ruler for the difficult times in which he lived, he was deposed and Shango took his place.<sup>16</sup>

We do not know whether Shango considered himself to be more of a Nupe or Tapa prince than a prince of the Borgu dynasty,<sup>17</sup> but on account of subsequent happenings I am inclined to believe that he was the hope of the pro-Nupe party in the country. He certainly met at once with opposition from a section

<sup>16</sup> S. Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas*, p. 149.

<sup>17</sup> In the legend of the two Shangos, he is called Shango Tapa whereas Ajaka is called Me-*si* Shango. It appears that 'Shango' conveyed the meaning of 'warrior from the Hausa country' or 'Hausa warrior,' for at that period the Hausa mercenaries of the Yukon of Wukari were called 'Shonka,' the singular of which is 'Shonko' or 'Shongo.' (See, Sir Richard Palmer, 'Ancient Nigerian Bronzes,' *The Burlington Magazine*, October, 1942.) Therefore one may perhaps translate 'Me-*si* Shango' as 'Lord of the Hausa warriors' ('Hausa' is the general term among the forest people for all those living outside the forest zone) and 'Shango Tapa' as the 'Nupe Hausa warrior'—which make his descent and what he stood for quite clear.

largely composed of the princes and chiefs of Oyo, a town originally founded by Oranyan and which, therefore, can be regarded as a stronghold of the Borgu-Yoruba ruling caste. This was an opposition which Shango certainly must have been bent on destroying, for it is still remembered with horror how, after capturing Oyo by treachery, he shamefully and brutally put to death all the princes and chiefs of that town.<sup>18</sup> Finally, to emphasize this victory he moved his court to Oyo and made this town the permanent capital of the country, which it remains to this day. He thus became the first Alafin of Oyo and as such could be regarded as an ancestor king.<sup>19</sup>

His whole rule lasted only seven years, for owing to his tyranny and passion for fighting battles inside Yoruba he was, according to one version, forced to abdicate by a strong party in the state. Another version has it that, after he had accidentally killed most of his wives and children,<sup>20</sup> he wished to retire to the court of his maternal grandfather the king of Nupe, but, being deserted by his followers, including his beloved wife Oya, he committed suicide.

It is doubtful whether the second version gets to the core of the reasons which would make this journey to Nupe plausible. I am inclined to believe that it was prompted by political motives, possibly to get help from the Nupe to oust the Borgu-Yoruba ruling caste from all its strongholds in the Yoruba country. However the case may be, after his suicide relations between these two countries became very strained and his half-brother Ajaka, who was reinstated on the throne, was himself soon forced to lead a military expedition against the relations of his late brother Shango.

Nothing is known about the real origin of this war, neither how it was won by the Yorubas nor of its repercussions—in Yoruba history.<sup>21</sup> According to the Nupe royal bards, it must have been this victory of Ajaka to which they attributed the loss of its states within the state Yoruba and Benin (the latter then a vassal state of Yoruba) and thus ended the first Nupe Empire.

<sup>18</sup> S. Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas*, p. 149.

<sup>19</sup> After Oranyan had founded Oyo he resided there for some time but returned to Ife, the old capital of the country. Ajaka reigned at Oyo where he was crowned Alafin but moved to Oyo after Shango's death. This Oyo, also called Eyoo or Katunga, has been in ruins since 1835. A New Oyo was built farther south which is still the capital of the Yoruba kingdom.

<sup>20</sup> There is a legend that Shango possessed a preparation which could attract lightning and that, experimenting one day, he accidentally set his palace on fire and most of his wives and children perished. Overcome with grief, he then decided to abdicate.

<sup>21</sup> The next war, against Nupe, reported by the Yorubas, occurred roughly one hundred years later and was won by the Nupes who occupied Oyo for two or three decades and the Alafin Omghogi and Ofiran died in exile. See *The History of the Yorubas*, pp. 158, 159.

Calculating the date of this event in Nupe history, Frobenius believes that it took place in A.D. 1275;<sup>22</sup> but from the traditions of Benin it must have occurred earlier. For Egharevba,<sup>23</sup> the court historian of Benin, dates Oranyan's coming to rule Benin, that is to incorporate this country more firmly into the Yoruba state, at approximately A.D. 1170. At that time Shango must have been already born, as during Oranyan's absence in Benin, his half-brother Ajaka was already regent and later, even before their father's return, installed as Alafin. Further, Shango, after he had ousted Ajaka, only ruled seven years and died a young man: it ought to be therefore safe to assume that Ajaka's reinstatement and war against Nupe took place not more than twenty or thirty years after A.D. 1170, that is roughly A.D. 1200.

However, as all dates in Sudanese history, due to oral transmission and their calculation in lunar months, cannot possibly be exact we must clearly permit for a latitude of several decades and striking the mean between the Benin historian and Frobenius, we may place the date of the end of the first Nupe Empire and the beginning of an independent Yoruba somewhere between A.D. 1200 and A.D. 1275, let us say the first half of the thirteenth century.

Shango was deified after his death by his friends and identified with Aman, the god connected with the Tapa dynasty.<sup>24</sup> A legend<sup>25</sup> tells us how his friends went to the Bari country, to the north of Yoruba, in order to learn the art of attracting lightning and how, when they came back, they put into practice all the lessons they had learnt. When too frequent conflagrations took place and too many deaths from lightning occurred, they would say that this was due to the late king taking vengeance on his enemies on account of the indignities heaped upon his memory. Being appealed to to propitiate the offended king in order that he might stay his vengeance, Shango's friends offered sacrifices to him as god, and hence these intercedors became the 'Mogba' or priests of Shango.

It may be that Shango's friends, by deifying their king Shango, hoped to restore some of the power that the Tapa dynasty and its faithful adherents had lost in Yoruba, firstly through Ajaka's victory over the

<sup>22</sup> Leo Frobenius, *Und Africa sprach*, II, p. 271.

<sup>23</sup> J. U. Egharevba, *A Short History of Benin*, C.M.S. Bookshop, Lagos, 1936, p. 10. Dates of the reigns of Benin Kings collected by Roupell, Dennett, and Thomas shortly after 1897 are compared with each other in B. Struck, 'Die Chronologie der Benin Altertüemer,' *Zeitsch. f. Ethn.*, 55, 1923. All date the first Oba of Benin, Eweka—who was also a son of Oranyan by a marriage with a Bini lady—during the middle of the twelfth century, that is, Oranyan's arrival at Benin may have been even earlier than A.D. 1170.

<sup>24</sup> The kings of the first Nupe Empire were believed to have been descendants of the kings of Napata in Nubia who officially were regarded as the sons of the god Amun.

<sup>25</sup> S. Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas*, p. 34.



FIG. 4—THE ALTAR OF SHANGO, SHOWING THE MORTAR WITH THE METEORITES, IBEJI STATUETTES TO LEFT IN FRONT OF AN OLD SACRIFICIAL VESSEL, THE TOBY JUG, ETC.

Photograph by Eva L. R. Meyerowitz

Nupes and secondly through his determined campaign against the followers of Shango. At least that is the only way one can understand the change in Ajaka, originally a peace loving prince, who, after his reinstatement on the throne became even more warlike than his late brother Shango. He is said to have been engaged in civil war with 1,060 of his chiefs and princes among whom were the principal vassal kings: the Onikoyi, the Olugbon, and the Aresa.<sup>26</sup>

Although Shango's friends did not quite succeed at that time in achieving their political aims, they certainly succeeded in making Shango a powerful god—the most powerful, to this day, in the Yoruba country.

## II

### *The Temple*

The first illustration which we have of it, is by Arriens, the painter who accompanied Frobenius on his expedition to West Africa in 1910-12.<sup>27</sup> and we

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152.

<sup>27</sup> Leo Frobenius, *Und Africa sprach*, I. Frontispiece. A drawing seen from the same angle on p. 30.

are in a position to compare his water-colour sketch with the flashlight photographs we took in 1937.<sup>28</sup>

A few things seem to have altered since then. In 1910 the actual temple was an unenclosed structure covered with a thatched roof, supported on pillars, which was extended in front over a fairly extensive area in order to provide shade for the priests and worshippers. Now the temple is enclosed by walls made of swish and covered with a low flat roof, so that no light enters the place except through two doors built into the front wall.

Arriens' sketch, due to the water-colour technique, is rather indistinct with regard to the details of the carved pillars, the main feature of the temple, which makes it difficult to compare them with our photos. Fortunately there also exists a photograph of the temple, taken either by Frobenius or one of the members of his expedition which is published in *Das Unbekannte Afrika*.<sup>29</sup> From this photograph we can

<sup>28</sup> A brief survey of Nigerian arts and crafts has been conducted by H. V. and E. L. R. Meyerowitz, sponsored by Achimota College, Gold Coast.

<sup>29</sup> Leo Frobenius, *Das Unbekannte Afrika*, Muenchen, 1923, p. 182.



see quite clearly that there were only six pillars on the left side, where there now are seven; probably there were originally nine, as there are still on the much better preserved right side. The added pillar is the one which is No. 4 at present, called 'Irugberi,' one figure on top of another. In Frobenius' time the one which is No. 2 now, called 'EGBADO,' took its place, while the space of No. 2 was left empty. Nos. 1, 3, 5, 6, and 7 are still the original carvings although repainted and not always in the same colours as in 1910.

Of the carvings on the right side, the pillars 1-7 and 9 are identical, whereas No. 8 is different even in theme and may be regarded as new since Arriens painted his sketch.

The large proscenium-like swish frame surrounding the carvings has changed in so far as this architectural feature was much more elaborate in former times; to-day it is quite simple, and all decorative members, flutings, steps, etc., have disappeared.

As we were unable to get a reliable interpreter during the three days when we visited the temple, I am indebted to Capt. R. J. Newberry of the Nigerian Department of Agriculture, then stationed at Ibadan, for some of the interpretations of the carvings. None of the approximately two dozen figures in this temple are images of the god, but represent (a) the retinue of Shango, and (b) some of the different classes of men and animals over which his domain extended. They are standing there to pay homage to Shango who sits invisible on the throne behind them.

#### *The carved pillars on the left*

1. IJIMERE—a monkey eating corn cob. A motif from Iseyin.
2. EGBADO—a native of the Egbado country.
3. ADEMÚ—a palm-wine maker climbing palm tree with dog below.
4. IRUGBERI—a reference to the Irugberi Clan.
5. IJIMERE—see No. 1.
6. ILORIN—a warrior on horseback from Ilorin in Northern Yoruba
7. ELEGUN SHANGO—one possessed at times by Shango and through whom Shango does his miracles. He is surrounded by drummers.

#### *The carved pillars on the right*

8. ILORIN—see No. 6.
9. ERE SHANGO—the idol (ere) representing Shango in the shape of a 'beautiful unmarried woman.' At the court at Oyo the Iyamode was an unmarried priestess of Shango often inspired and possessed by the god and she thus came to be regarded as the embodiment of Shango.

10. EGBADO—see No. 2.
11. AGBERI—a woman from Agberi.
12. IDOMI—a native from Idomi.
13. TAPA—a Tapa woman. Her face marks, however, are the Royal Oyo.
14. OBO LORI IDOMI—Idomi man and another carrying monkey on his head.
15. IRUGBERI—see No. 4.
16. IGBIOSA—an Igbiosa man.

#### *The Altar*

The altar behind the pillars consists mainly of a large wooden mortar called ODO, and Shango manifests himself in the many meteorites which this mortar contains. On the left side of this ODO are a few IBEJI, idols carved in hardwood and representing twins in the cult of the god of the Twins which in some way seems to be connected with the Shango cult. The statuettes here are among the oldest I have so far seen.

On the right side of Shango's throne stands the statue of AGBOLI SHANGO, the woman whose duty it is to carry the kola-nuts belonging to Shango; farther to the front stands the carved figure of IBADAN-AMAN wearing a white helmet, representing a native of Ibadan and showing that the god Shango is a native of this town. And before AMAN there is AJA the Ibadan man's dog.

In addition we find all kinds of other objects around the ODO, as, for instance, the wallets of Shango which hang along the walls and are emblematic of the plundering propensities of the god who was the friend of predatory war. There are also calabashes and all kinds of European china and stoneware articles, including a toby jug which was given to one of the Shango priests by a traveller well over a hundred years ago.

If one hears or reads the various myths and legends connected with Shango, the Kingly Thundergod, one is surprised that for pictorial representation apparently the most insignificant and unrelated stories were chosen. No attempt seems to have been made to choose anything of Shango's regal career, nor does anything suggest the power of this god. One would expect at least to find the god's three wives depicted, each of which represent a river in the Yoruba country and who play a big part in the myths; or an image of Shango's devoted slave Biri, the Darkness, or Shango's messenger Ara, the Thunderclap.

The people who are represented in connection with Shango are a few individuals and animals and of those few, five have been depicted twice: IJIMERE, EGBADO, ILORIN, IRUGBERI, and IDOMI. This selection strikes me as very poor, especially in view of the fact that they are there to show the different classes of men and animals over which the domain of Shango

extended. Worse are the various objects collected round the altar, the throne of Shango, and I can only fully agree with Frobenius who is of the opinion that originally there existed a symbolism which was rich and full of meaning although to-day it has deteriorated into a jumble containing all forms of modern junk, side by side with dignified old objects the meaning of which is now misunderstood, a pell-mell without criticism.<sup>30</sup>

Deterioration from the architectural and general aesthetic point of view has also set in. The carved pillars were originally conceived as columns, which can still be seen from the few which have a round plinth, one large figure only and a fairly long upper-shaft: on the left side Nos. 3, 6, 7, and on the right side Nos. 8, 9, and 13. The pillars Nos. 9 and 13 each depicting a woman are the finest carvings of them al-

<sup>30</sup> Leo Frobenius. 'Die Atlantische Goetterlehre.' *Atlantis*, X, p. 83.

and probably the oldest. They are the only ones, with the exception perhaps of the two warriors on horseback, Nos. 6 and 8, which still have a monumental quality which is completely lost in the others: it is only necessary to compare No. 9, ERE SHANGO, with No. 10, EGBADO next to it. The dilapidated state of the swish proscenium, now stripped of its decorative elements, has already been mentioned; as has been the change from an open structure covered by a thatched roof into a walled building—which completes the rather depressing slum-like appearance of the whole compound. Further, when I revisited the Temple in 1944 I found that all the carvings had been daubed with blood, which destroyed whatever remained of monumental effect, and the beautiful Ibeji figures at the foot of the altar were dressed in rags, drenched with the blood of the sacrifice. The Temple itself, however, and the surrounding space, had been noticeably cleaned up.

**RATTAN CUIRASSES AND GOURD PENIS-CASES IN NEW GUINEA.** By *Alphonse Riesenfeld, Ph.D., University of Geneva*

**28** The distribution in New Guinea of cuirasses of rattan is limited to the western part of this large island. Finsch gives an illustration of the form which he discovered at Angriffshafen (Finsch No. 25, fig., p. 337; No. 26, pl. 16, fig. 7; No. 27, p. 426: quoted also by Buschan No. 16, p. 80: Haddon and Layard No. 33, p. 17)<sup>1</sup> and they occur also among the Krissi some distance inland of Angriffshafen (Haddon, Introduction to Holmes No. 34). Schlaginhaufen (No. 65, p. 15) records the occurrence of plaited rattan cuirasses in the villages Rabo and Poko in the hinterland of Leitene. Neuhauss (No. 47, I, fig. 205 b, p. 305, quoted also by Haddon and Layard No. 33, p. 18) illustrates a specimen from Sissanu, and says that in this district they are obtained from the neighbourhood of the Netherlands border. I know of no record of cuirasses further east than Sissanu. Buschan (No. 16, p. 80) records *Bastpanzerhemden* amongst the Hupe who live inland of the Sattelberg, but I cannot find any basis for this assertion. In the west beyond the boundary, a cuirass of rattan was found on the Arso River, a tributary of the Tami (Eerde No. 23, p. 934), others were found deep in the interior in the Dika Valley south of Doorman Top, and on the Panara River south of the Dika River (Wirz No. 75, p. 67 and figs. 9 and 10). On the Sand River, a tributary of the Yellow River which falls into the upper Sepik, Thurnwald found that the people wore 'eine Art geknüpft Panzerhemden,' and on the neighbouring North River, also a tributary of the upper Sepik, the people wore rattan cuirasses on the upper part of their body (Thurnwald No. 69,

p. 91 f.). Further south, rattan cuirasses were seen amongst the Bolivip who inhabit the headwaters of the Fly (Champion No. 17, p. 171). Good descriptions have been given of the cuirasses of rattan in use on the Tedi or Alice River, where they were found on various parts of the river. On the headwaters of the river, i.e. actually in the Star Mountains, Austen saw an old cuirass similar to those which he obtained in the villages of the Iongom and Awin tribes on the eastern and western banks of the lower Tedi. The first recorder of a rattan cuirass was d'Albertis (No. 5, II fig., p. 126) who found it in a deserted house on the Tedi River, but did not meet the people who wore it. At the village Muruwara near the junction of the Tedi River and the upper Fly, Murray found people who wore cuirasses of rattan which were so fitted to the body as to keep up without shoulder straps. They were locally known as *irim*. They were made so as to protect both back and front of the trunk against arrows. One of the cuirasses which Austen found in this region had shoulder-straps of plaited string, apparently to help keep the cuirass in position (Murray No. 45, pp. 202, 205 f., *Ann. Rep.* 1913-14: Austen *Ann. Rep.* 1921-22, pp. 8, 43, 127, 137 f., 1922-23, p. 30: Austen No. 6, p. 344 f.: Haddon No. 32, p. 81: Haddon and Layard No. 33, p. 18). Also below the junction of the Tedi and the Fly just where the Fly enters Dutch territory, people were met who used cuirasses of lawyer cane which covered the body from the shoulders to the hips (Champion No. 17, p. 128). Proceeding to the south-east, there is, as far as I know, only one record of rattan cuirasses. The Umaidai and Wariadai people who inhabit the

<sup>1</sup> For the numerical references, see p. 34.

Turama River, wear fibre harnesses called *karagodi*, across shoulders, chest and back, with a girdle of the same material (Rentoul *Ann. Rep.* 1923-24, p. 17). The greatest number of rattan cuirasses has been found west and south-west of the Tedh River, and here their use extends over a fairly large area. On the Oewimmerah River, a tributary of the upper Digul, the Dutch explorers met people who were wearing solid rattan cuirasses covering the chest as a protection against arrows and lances (No. 3, pp. 834, 1010; No. 2, p. 798). Austen mentions that cuirasses are also worn by the inhabitants of the Muin River, a tributary of the Oewimmerah (Austen No. 6, p. 345). Further to the west, rattan cuirasses were found on the Miku, another tributary of the Digul (Wirz No. 74, p. 345), on the Digul itself (Wirz No. 74, p. 318; No. 3, p. 840) and among the Sohur, who inhabit the area north of the Digul estuary (Geurtjens No. 31, p. 192). Much further to the west it was found that the short-statured Utkwa also wear rattan cuirasses, but that the technique of them differs from that of the other forms (Haddon and Layard No. 33, pp. 5, 18). The most western use of plaited rattan cuirasses I am aware of is that recorded by Hille amongst the people of the Timnabocan River north of Kaiboes Bay. Here too, the cuirasses cover chest and back (No. 1, from Hille, p. 191). This use of cuirasses seems to be quite isolated in this region.

These are all the records I know of rattan cuirasses in New Guinea, but it may be mentioned that Monckton gives the following account of the Owen Stanley Range. He says (No. 42, p. 119 f.) that he made the discovery of (a) wooden plate armour in a deserted village at about 6,000 feet, on the Owen Stanley Range . . . but I never met the people by whom the armour was worn. It was made of a very light tough wood, was shaped to fit the body, and was about 2 inches thick and quite arrow-proof; the holes in the plates were so placed that they could be lashed together on the wearer. Long gauntlets of plaited cane and fibre were worn with the armour. . . . The size showed that it had been designed for men of good height and physique. Who the people were by whom it was worn, I do not know.

In a study published in 1902, Foy, who at that time was aware of rattan cuirasses only at Angriffshafen and on the Fly River, saw in their occurrence a proof of the ethnographical relations between British and the former German New Guinea (Foy No. 29, p. 380). Haddon, who, in a paper published in 1916 (Haddon and Layard No. 33, p. 17) and in his introduction to Holmes *In Primitive New Guinea* published in 1924, discusses the occurrence of rattan cuirasses but mentions them only in Angriffshafen, Sissanu, Krissi, the Alice River, the upper Fly and amongst the Utkwa—has rightly emphasized that the cuirasses of the upper

Fly cannot have travelled up that river, as they are found nowhere else on the river. 'We may then safely conclude' says Haddon, 'that the cuirass-wearing people crossed the Main Range of New Guinea first east of the Netherlands boundary, and that the use of the cuirass was carried across very difficult country far to the west in Netherlands territory to the western slope of the range.' In view of the more recent data quoted, it is, however, more probable that the starting point of this people was not only east of the Netherlands boundary, but that it extended farther to the west into Netherlands New Guinea, or that this region was at least touched by the people on their migration. From there they went in a southern or south-eastern migration to the upper waters of the Sepik and then to the upper waters of the Fly, from where they branched off in a westerly direction along the Digul and its tributaries, reaching even the Utkwa in the west and some Turama people in the east.

In his study of 1916, Haddon has moreover compared the distribution of cuirasses with that of penis-cases and he actually expressed the opinion that 'the gourd penis-cases and the cuirass indicate a cultural continuity from Finsch Coast, G.N.G. to the west coast of N.N.G. implicating the upper waters of the Kaiserin-Augusta and Fly rivers' (Haddon and Layard No. 33, p. 17). But Haddon had only relatively few data regarding the distribution of penis-cases, and in the light of more modern information certain additional data can be quoted. Several writers mention the gourd penis-cases in Angriffshafen, and Friederici regards Angriffshafen as the centre of the area of the penis-gourd in North New Guinea (*see* Buschan No. 16, p. 71; Finsch No. 25, p. 337, No. 27, p. 326; Chinnery No. 19, p. 51; Marshall No. 41, p. 499; Friederici No. 30, II, p. 154; quoted also by Haddon and Layard No. 33, p. 17). Gourd penis-cases are further recorded in Krissi village inland of Angriffshafen (Cheesman No. 18, p. 182; Schultze No. 68, p. 37), Leitere (Friederici No. 30, II, p. 154; Schlaginhausen No. 65, p. 15; Haddon and Layard No. 33, p. 17), Lawo inland of Leitere (Neuhauß No. 47, I, p. 68), Sissanu (Friederici No. 30, II, p. 154; Haddon and Layard No. 33, p. 17; Speiser No. 64, p. 141) and the most eastern occurrence I know of is in the Torricelli Range (Schlaginhausen No. 65, p. 13; No. 66, p. 5; Finsch No. 27, p. 326). Beyond the Dutch boundary, they occur on the Arso River, a tributary of the Tami and on the Tami itself (Eerde No. 23, p. 932; Finsch No. 25, p. 346, Lorentz No. 40, p. 95), in Thaë (van der Sande No. 62, p. 121), the Seka District (van der Sande No. 62, pp. 39, 92; Wichmann No. 72, p. 215; Schultze No. 68, p. 11; Koning No. 38, p. 274), and many other villages between Angriffshafen and Cape Bonpland (Friederici

No. 30, II, p. 154; Haddon and Layard No. 33, p. 17), which latter place van der Sande considers as the western limit of the area of the penis-gourd. He therefore thinks that the penis-cases found in some places of Humboldt Bay (there they have been recorded by Buschan No. 16, p. 71; Finsch No. 24, p. 139; Christmann and Oberlander No. 21, II, p. 38; van der Aa No. 4, p. 122; Müller No. 44, p. 24; Lorentz No. 40, p. 1; van der Sande No. 62, p. 121, etc.) were brought there by trade (van der Sande No. 62, p. 92). Penis-cases have further been found in use deep in the interior, in Central New Guinea on the Mamberamo (Wirz No. 76, p. 42; Bijlmer No. 10, p. 4), the Swart River (Bijlmer No. 9, p. 176; No. 10, pp. 4, 358; No. 11, p. 405), on the Dika River south of Doorman Top (Wirz No. 75, p. 40; Bijlmer No. 11, p. 405), and further east on the headwaters of the Idenburg River, viz. on the Mowae River, a tributary of the Pauwasi River, the Songgoto River, a tributary of the Poeveh River, and in Kiveh village on the Poeveh River (Oppermann in Bruijn No. 14, p. 667 f.). These latter places lie very near that area of the Sepik, where penis-cases were likewise found in use. According to Roesicke and Behrmann they occur from Wogumasch upwards but not lower down the river than that place (Roesicke No. 61, p. 516; Behrmann No. 8, pp. 96, 166 f.); also according to Reche they occur only above the Hunstein mountains (Reche No. 59, p. 76; quoted also by Haddon and Layard No. 33, p. 17); only Chinnery records them also in Japondai (Chinnery No. 19, p. 36). Higher up the river they are found on the Maander Berg near the Yellow River (Roesicke No. 61, p. 519), the October River (Roesicke No. 61, p. 521), the West River (Thurnwald No. 70, p. 343), and the Umkehr River (Schultze No. 68, p. 43). Further to the south, gourd penis-cases have been found in use amongst the 'Mountain People' as Kienzle and Campbell called the inhabitants between the Thurnwald and Kaban Ranges: for instance, amongst the Telifomin and, actually in Papua, amongst the Bolivip (Kienzle and Campbell No. 36, p. 478; Campbell No. 17, p. 248; Champion in *Ann. Rep.* 1928, Appendix B; Haddon in Karius No. 35, p. 321, *Ann. Rep.* 1926/27, p. 101). They are further recorded on the headwaters of the Palmer River, viz. north and south of Mt. Blücher and amongst the Unkiamin (Karius in *Ann. Rep.* 1926/27, pp. 95 f., 101). On the upper reaches of the Tedi River, calabashes are used as penis-covering, but on the lower part of the river nuts are also used for that purpose besides calabashes (Austen *Ann. Rep.* 1922/23, p. 29 f.; 1921/22, pp. 42, 135 f.). The use of both these objects is interesting, since lower down the Fly and the large area east and west of it, where, as we have seen, no rattan cuirasses are recorded, and where penis-coverings are very frequent,

these coverings are never made of gourds but always of shells. The intermediate position of Lake Murray and Chirik village above Everill Junction is recognizable from the fact that at Lake Murray both calabashes and shells, and at Chirik village shells and nuts are worn (Murray No. 46, p. 41; Kienzle and Campbell No. 36, p. 465; Austen *Ann. Rep.* 1921/22, p. 123). Some 30 miles up from Everill Junction only shells are worn as pubic covering and this is also the case lower down the river along the right bank of the Fly from Everill Junction to the Garamudi country, on Kiwai, amongst the Hiwi tribe who live between the Fly and the Dibiri Rivers, on the Bamu, Turama, the Kikori Delta and the Purari Delta: further west pubic shells are worn by the Yende inhabiting the headwaters of the Pahoturi, the Bugi living on the estuary of the Mai Kussa, the Mikud, Keraki, Gambadi, Wiram, Semariji, Toro, Marind anim and Jee anim (*Ann. Rep.* 1893, p. 37; *Ann. Rep.* 1919/20, pp. 8, 114; 1920/21, p. 113; 1927/28, p. 20; Haddon No. 32, pp. 77, 87; Landtman No. 39, p. 23; Beaver No. 7, pp. 108, 217 f.; Williams No. 72 a, pp. 38, 41, 398; Seligman and Strong No. 63, p. 228; Nevermann No. 49, p. 16; Wirz No. 73, I, p. 47, No. 74, p. 14; Speiser No. 64, pp. 135, 141). On the Muli, gourds or shells are worn (Finsch No. 24, p. 51); shells are further worn on Frederik Hendrik Island (Nevermann No. 49, pp. 59, 101, 105), and by the Sohur (Nevermann No. 50, p. 175). On the Miku and Digul Rivers and among the Utaqua, where, as has already been mentioned, rattan cuirasses are in use, gourd penis-cases are worn (Wirz No. 74, pp. 334 f., 341; Speiser No. 64, p. 136; Anonymous No. 2, p. 536; Haddon and Layard No. 33, p. 3; Wollaston No. 78, p. 261). But penis-cases of gourd and other materials are also worn on the Wildeman River (of basketwork or coconut shells) (Wirz No. 74, p. 308), by the Gohath Pygmies (Bijlmer No. 10, p. 4; Broek No. 13, p. 822; De Kock No. 37, p. 159; Ven No. 71, p. 183), the Pesechem (Pulle No. 56, p. 93; Nounhuys No. 51, pp. 5, 14; No. 52, p. 807; No. 53, p. 268; Bijlmer No. 10, p. 4; Fischer No. 28, p. 146 f.; Haddon and Layard No. 33, p. 17), on the upper Northwest River (Bruijn No. 15, p. 89), by the Tapiro (Bijlmer No. 10, p. 4; No. 11, p. 411; Rawling No. 57, pp. 115, 253, No. 58, p. 246; Speiser No. 64, p. 136), on the Mimika River (bamboo cases or shells) (Rawling No. 57, p. 59, No. 58, p. 237; Wollaston No. 77, p. 113 f.; Haddon and Layard No. 33, p. 20), on the Utanata River (Friederici No. 30, p. 153; Finsch No. 24, p. 59; Haddon and Layard No. 33, p. 19), at Porogo (Bijlmer No. 11, p. 710), on the Namoecka River north-east of Porogo (Bijlmer No. 11, pp. 415, 710), by the Mannekoe north-east of Pania in the Nassau Range (Bijlmer No. 12, p. 133), the Iwaro

north-east of Pania (Bijlmer No. 12, pp. 131, 133), the Parari inhabiting the Taperemai, a tributary of the Umar River (net covering) (Bijlmer No. 11, p. 709), the 'Kapaukoe' north of Umar village (plaited fibre) (Bijlmer No. 12, pp. 119, 132 f.), by the Jabi living on the Sawa River deep in the interior north of Umar (no gourds but a 'penisdop' as the Dutch explorers say) (Anonymous No. 2, p. 231; Bijlmer No. 12, p. 131) and in the Aiduma District on the coast (Finsch No. 24, p. 68).

If we disregard the occurrence of penis-cases from the Wildeman River as far as the Aiduma District where, with the exception of the Utakwa, no rattan cuirasses have been found, it is clear that the distribution of rattan cuirasses in New Guinea resembles to an astonishing degree that of gourd penis-cases. If it is borne in mind how sporadic and fragmentary is our knowledge of the wide area between the Wildeman River and the Aiduma District, it is not impossible that at some places in this area rattan cuirasses may be found in the future. There are only two exceptions to the rule of the co-existence of gourd penis-cases and rattan cuirasses, namely the Sohur and the Turama people, who both have pubic coverings of shells as do those tribes who certainly have no rattan cuirasses. It should, however, be remarked that the occurrence of rattan cuirasses on the Turama is quite isolated in that area which is some considerable distance from the typical area of rattan cuirasses; and the Sohur, who have indirect trading relations with the Marind, have been strongly influenced in their culture by the latter. Thus, they adopted from the Marind the use of kava, the *jus primæ noctis*, head-hunting, certain decorations, etc., and even their language contains a certain number of Marind words (see Nevermann No. 50, pp. 177, 181 ff., 188, 190). It is therefore quite probable that they also adopted the use of pubic shells from the Marindanim. We can further disregard the one isolated occurrence of rattan cuirasses near Kaiboës Bay.

These data show that there is such coincidence in the distribution of rattan cuirasses and gourd penis-cases in New Guinea that, in the light of recent information, Haddon's opinion that the gourd penis-cases and the cuirasses indicate a cultural continuity is strongly confirmed. As to the question to what stratum of the culture of New Guinea these two elements belong, there is absolutely nothing to support Graebner's theory that penis-cases form part of the 'totemistische Kulturkreis.' It is moreover certain that the occurrence of cuirasses and penis-cases cannot be due to those drifts of culture which are responsible for the spread of kava, the conception of the devouring monster or megalithic elements, since these drifts have not only a much wider extension, but have also generally followed quite different routes. Since

analogous cuirasses are also characteristic of the Gilbert and Marshall Islands, whence they may have even come to Futuna north of Fiji (see Foy No. 29, p. 380; Schmeltz and Krause No. 67, p. XL; Buschan No. 16, p. 214 f.; Finsch No. 27, p. 518, etc.) this custom may have come to the north coast of New Guinea from Micronesia, as Haddon too thinks it did (Introduction to Holmes No. 34). It may be that E Mira Island was a halting place on the migration of this people, since gourds as well as shells are worn as penis-cases on this island (Parkinson No. 54, p. 336, No. 55, p. 229; Finsch No. 27, pp. 109, 326; Nevermann No. 48, p. 79; Chinnery No. 20, p. 131, etc.). We can probably disregard the fact that on the Admiralty Islands shells were worn as pubic covering; see Parkinson No. 54, pp. 368, 381; Moseley No. 43, p. 397; Speiser No. 64, p. 14; Buschan No. 16, pp. 101, 108, etc.) although no cuirasses have been recorded here. Since, as far as I know, no gourd penis-cases are worn in Micronesia, there seem to be only two possible explanations for the co-existence of gourd penis-cases and cuirasses in New Guinea: either the cuirass-wearing people invented gourd penis-cases in New Guinea or E Mira, or they became acquainted with this curious custom, which did not originally form part of their culture, in E Mira or on the north coast of New Guinea, whence they carried it, together with rattan cuirasses, across New Guinea. However this may be, the fact that the same people who wore cuirasses also either invented or adopted penis-cases, makes it probable that they used both these forms of accoutrement for the same reason. This would very likely throw some light upon the original purpose for the curious use of penis-cases, a purpose hitherto conjectured rather than actually proven. Since the purpose of rattan cuirasses is obviously to afford protection, this is also likely to be the reason for wearing gourd penis-cases. The fact that cuirasses are generally lacking in the area of pubic coverings of shell might incline one to the view that not only do shell coverings belong to a different culture, but also that their original purpose was different. But this is a matter for further discussion.

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THE BUST OF BERAT. *By Margaret Hasluck. Illustrated*

**29** One of the most striking characteristics of the wet and mountainous Balkans is the number and size of the rivers and bridges. In little Albania alone, a country not much bigger than Wales, there are fifteen bridges, distributed among ten rivers, which range from 350 to 1,450 feet in length. The flooding to which most of the rivers are subject is also remarkable. It occurs several times a year, during each heavy rainfall in winter and at the melting of the mountain snows in spring. The flood sweeps along, tawny with silt, laden with boulders and tree-trunks which it has wrenched from the mountains lining the river-bed, and hurls water, boulders, and tree-trunks against every obstacle it encounters, whether river bank or pier of bridge. Balkan rivers are, consequently, a nightmare to builders of bridges, even now.

They must have been worse to ancient builders. A hint of the difficulties these experienced is preserved in a folk-tale which is told, within my knowledge, of the bridge over the river at Arta in Epirus, the Pasha's Bridge over the Upper Haliakmon in South-West Macedonia, and the bridges over the Drin near Dibër

the Argesh legend may be read in E. B. Murgoci's *Roumanian Fairy Tales and Legends*. The tales of the other bridges are unpublished; the one I give herewith was told me of the Pasha's bridge over the Haliakmon.

Three brothers, all master-masons of note, were employed on building the Pasha's Bridge. But do what they would, the central arch would not hold: time and time again it fell in as soon as it was constructed. At last came a day when a passing traveller warned the brothers that there was no hope of its holding until they sacrificed a human being. In their despair they decided to sacrifice the first person to approach the bridge in the morning, and promised each other to tell no one what they planned. But during the night the two eldest, fearing each that his wife might be the victim, broke their promise, told their wives what was pending, and forbade them to leave the house next day. In the morning these young wives made one excuse or another to their mother-in-law when she told them to take dinner to the brothers at the bridge—the ladies lived together, of course, in the usual Balkan manner. So it befell that the youngest brother, who had been faithful to his vow of secrecy, saw his wife approach, their infant son on one arm, dinner for him and his brothers in her other hand. All three seized and led her to a pier of the bridge, where stone by stone they walled her up alive. With her last breath she implored them to leave a small opening through which she might feed her baby until, in due time by Balkan standards, he was old enough to be weaned. The brothers granted her prayer and for two years and more milk flowed through the opening from the dead mother's breasts. The arch held: the sacrifice was not in vain.

As we see, this song of the Pasha's Bridge does not differ in essentials from the other tales which have been published. Nor do the unpublished stories of Elbasan and Berat. Now all over the Balkans a sheep or fowl is still slaughtered when the first foundation of a new building is laid, the idea being that such a sacrifice is necessary to establish the structure, and we ourselves preserve an attenuated form of the same sacrifice. Scholars discussing the folk-tales have generally referred them back to a time when not a sheep or a fowl but a human being was offered up to the unquiet bridge. Strange confirmation of this theory is found in a bust from the bridge at Berat.

This bridge is a modification of the Turkish type



FIG. 1—THE PASHA'S BRIDGE OVER THE RIVER HALIAKMON IN MACEDONIA, A TYPICALLY TURKISH STRUCTURE

in East Albania, the Shkumbi at Elbasan in Central Albania, and the Osum at Berat in South Albania; also, it should be added for the sake of completeness, of the monastery of Argesh on the bank of the river Argis in Roumania. The story of the Bridge of Arta, the best known of all, is told in Polites, *Παραδόσεις*, no. 169 n. and nos. 481-3 incl., and in Miss L. M. J. Garnett's *Greek Folk-Songs*, pp. 81-3; a photograph of the bridge appears in my husband's *Letters on Religion and Folk-Lore*. Miss Durham gives a racy account of the bridge of Dibër in one of her books:

common in the Balkans, where a narrow, cobbled roadway rises steeply from either bank over a number of low, narrow arches to a central arch that is disproportionately high and wide. A little open chamber in each pier adds grace and lightness to the appearance of the whole. The bridge of Berat was built about 1780 by Kurd Ahmed Pasha of Berat, and at first would not stand fast. On consulting local wisacres the Pasha was told that the trouble came from evil spirits who must be appeased by a human sacrifice. So a woman was immured in the chamber of the pier nearest the right bank, and left to die of starvation. The exact spot was pointed out to Ekrem Bey Vlora, who recounts the tradition in his book *Aus Berat und vom Tomor*, which was published about 1909 and



FIG. 2.—THE BRIDGE OF BERAT IN 1933, LOOKING UPSTREAM

written a year or so earlier. As he notes only that a lattice closed the opening, he does not seem to have examined the chamber itself, an unfortunate omission as it turns out.

During the first great war the Austro-Hungarian armies occupied the greater part of Albania. When they retired from Berat in 1918, they damaged two piers of the bridge. A year or two later, the Albanians pulled these down and rebuilt them, at the same time widening the roadway and cementing the whole bridge out of most of its former beauty. When pulling down the first pier, they found a wooden bust in one of the chambers. This was placed in the National Museum at Tirana, where Mr. Lef Nosi, the well known antiquarian of Elbasan, called my attention to it.

In the following paragraphs the remarks on the material and instruments used on the bust come from 'Master Zejnel' (*Usta Zejnel*), the master-mason who maintains his father's reputation of being the best mason in Elbasan. Like all masons in the Balkans, he is a carpenter in wood as well as a builder in stone.

The bust is made of mulberry wood, roughly hewn. Most of the work has been done with a Balkan adze, but a chisel has been used for projections like the ears, and a gimlet for the ear-hole. The face, neck, and shoulders have been smoothed, and the plinth left

rough. The lips, cheeks, brow, and nose have been painted red, and the eyebrows black. The hair has been given the appearance of damp curls by hacking at the wood with the adze: it has not been coloured. The left ear is thicker than the right and hangs farther forward, accentuating the slight turn to the right of the head: both ears are placed too high: an ordinary

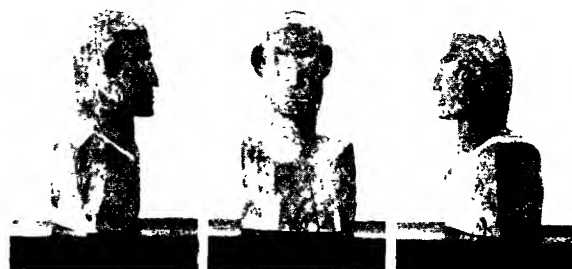


FIG. 3.—THE WOODEN FIGURE FOUND IN ONE OF THE OPENINGS OF THE BRIDGE OF BERAT: TIRANA MUSEUM

round pencil fits into either ear-hole. The nose is large and shaped like a triangle flattened from above; the tip has been sheered off in an interesting attempt to represent the drooping tip so characteristic of Albanian noses. The nostrils are not marked. The lips, which are slightly parted, were first cut with a saw, after which the edges were broadened by a horizontal slash. The teeth are not indicated. The outline of the chin is very sharp, and the cheeks flat. Each eye-socket appears as a cup-shaped hollow with a sharp rim: the left is bigger than the right. The general effect is sightless, for no details whatsoever of the eyes are marked, and there is no sign that eyeballs were made separately and inserted. The shoulders have been scooped out, the right one more than the left. The right one has also been foreshortened to help the turn of the head: it is only half the length of the left one, five centimetres against ten. Between the shoulders the back sticks out in a point: the chest has been roughly chipped flat. There is no sign of clothing or a headdress, but both may have existed originally and have rotted as time passed.

The dimensions of the bust are as in the table on next page. The parallel column gives measurements of three living Albanians, including Master Zejnel, which I made at the same time as I measured the bust. All the measures were taken with callipers or a steel tape. The first six are those usually taken by anthropometrists. I apologize for having allowed some technical terms to slip from my memory and for not being able at present to recover them.

The head, then, is large, but not unduly so. The proportions between the face length and the face breadth (measurements 4 and 5) show that the sculptor worked by eye. If he had taken the measures



of a living model, he would have discovered that the face breadth should be the greater. Instead, he has fallen into the trap which the existence of the brow and possibly a high fez above the face sets for the eye, creating the illusion that the face length is greater than its breadth. The extreme length of the

MEASUREMENTS IN CENTIMETRES

	Bust		Living Albanians		
			1st	2nd	3rd
Head circumference	59.0		58.0	57.0	58.0
Glabella-occiput	20.3		18.6	18.8	18.4
Greatest width above ears	18.5		14.8	15.0	16.7
Root of nose (inion) to under chin	14.2		10.8	10.8	12.6
Greatest width at temples	14.0		14.3	14.0	14.8
Nose from root to junction with lip	6.4	4.2	4.4	4.0	4.0
Nose junction with lip to under chin	7.0				4.6
Nose from root to tip	8.0				4.1
Length of ear	9.0				
Neck circumference	45.0				
Chest measurement	84.0				
Crown of head to base of plinth	56.0				
Tip of shoulder to base of plinth	25.0				
Chin to shoulder (throat)	12.0				
Crown of head to tip of chin	27.0				

nose in the bust is another impressionistic error. But on the whole the sculptor has graven a reasonably good image of an Albanian head. He has also caught a characteristic attitude. This makes one think that he deliberately made the eyes sightless in order to suggest the death of the victim.

I conclude with a surprise. It will be remembered that in all the traditions, including that told of Berat by Ekrem Bey Vlora, the victim is a woman. I was myself informed in Berat in 1930 that a female gypsy had been immolated, a sacrifice that shows a certain economy of human material, gypsies being such low

creatures in Albanian eyes that one more or less would not matter. Most astonishingly, in view of the traditions, our bust is male. Black mustaches have been painted across the upper lip and, as is clearly seen in the full-face photograph, there are three nails on the right side of the chin, and one on the left for the attachment of a beard, which was perhaps of black wool. The cropped hair and the harsh features also are masculine: there is no sign that false hair was attached to the head to make it feminine. The wrongness of the sex may be due to the mixed character of the population of Berat. As late as 1920 a large proportion still adhered to the Orthodox religion, but since the Moslems were numerically superior, the Christian women thought it judicious to conceal their identity when out of doors by wearing precisely the same veil as the Moslems; they also secluded themselves when indoors with almost equal rigour. In 1780, when the bridge was built, conditions can hardly have been different. A sculptor brought up in such an atmosphere would have feared that if he made a woman's head, it would be regarded by the public as a copy of his wife's, and neither Christian nor Moslem would have taken such a risk. Possibly Kurd Ahmed Pasha himself solved the difficulty, bidding the sculptor in the arrogant way of pashas make the head male in the hope that the evil spirits troubling the bridge would not discover the imposture. Whether or not that is the explanation, this bust of Berat takes us a step nearer to the human sacrifice of which the songs of so many bridges in the Balkans are thought to speak.

#### A NOTE ON FUNCTIONAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

By A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, M.A., Professor of Social

Anthropology, Oxford

**30** In current anthropological literature one comes across references to 'functional anthropology.' I find myself sometimes referred to as one of its representatives or founders. For example, Goldenweiser has written, 'The prophets of the New Functionalism are A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski.'<sup>1</sup> The name 'functional anthropology' was invented by Malinowski in 1926 and was used by him as a label for his own teaching. We must therefore go to his writings for a definition of what the term means.

Malinowski began his study of social anthropology in 1910 at the London School of Economics. One of his earliest published papers on the subject was one on the Australian aborigines, of which I still possess the copy he gave me.<sup>2</sup> The paper dealt with what

he called men's associations. He wrote (p. 60): 'The sociological reason, *i.e.* the function or task that a given institution performs in society, is often confused with its aim, as subjectively conceived by society. Keeping these two different questions strictly apart, we shall try broadly to answer both. To begin with the first, our task is to show what the chief social functions of these male societies are, what part they play in the integration of the various other institutions, and wherein lies their general importance for the whole social structure.' This gives a clear idea of what Malinowski understood as the social function of an institution at that time.

In 1914 Malinowski and I were together in Australia when he was on his way to his field-work in New Guinea. We had many lengthy discussions on anthropology and the aims and methods of field research, and we reached fairly complete agreement.

In 1926 Malinowski wrote an article on Social Anthropology for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and

<sup>1</sup> *Contemporary Social Theory*, edited by Barnes and Becker, p. 471.

<sup>2</sup> *Plémienne związki w Australii* (Tribal male associations of the Australian Aborigines), *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de Cracovie*, Avril-Mai-Juin, 1912.

gave therein the following definition of functional anthropology: 'This type of theory aims at the explanation of anthropological facts at all levels of development by their function, by the part which they play within the integral system of culture, by the manner in which they are related to each other within the system, and by the manner in which the system is related to the physical surroundings. It aims at the understanding of the nature of culture rather than at conjectural reconstructions of its evolution or of past historical events.'

In choosing the name functional anthropology Malinowski was influenced by the fact that Dean Roscoe Pound had established at Harvard a Functional School of Jurisprudence, and he had in mind the statement of Roscoe Pound printed in the preceding year: 'Perhaps the most significant advance in the modern science of law is the change from the analytic to the functional standpoint. The world over, the jurist of to-day seeks to discover and appraise the social effects of legal institutions and legal doctrines in action.' It may be noted that Roscoe Pound speaks of 'social effects.'

In 1926 Malinowski and I stayed together at the Yale Club in New York as the guests of the Rockefeller Foundation, and he expounded to me the ideas on functional anthropology which he entertained at that time. Our chief disagreement was as to what was the most convenient and profitable way to use the word 'function' in social anthropology. He wished to extend the meaning of the word very widely, whereas I preferred to continue the use of the term 'social function' in a limited meaning. Words, and the concepts expressed in them, are the tools of scientific reasoning. When we are defining abstract terms there is no question of one definition being right and another wrong, but only of which definition gives us the most useful tool for scientific analysis and generalization.

Round about 1930 Malinowski's views on social anthropology underwent considerable change. He had gradually come to think of the subject as concerned not with the social relations and interactions of human beings but with 'culture.' His views at this time are expressed in his article on 'Culture' in the *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences*. His new conception of function can be seen in his discussion of the 'function' of a digging-stick. 'The simplest as well as the most elaborate artifact is defined by its function, the part which it plays within a system of human activities: it is defined by the ideas which are connected with it and by the values which surround it.' It is no longer a question of an institution having a social function but rather of the use of a material object.

In 1932 Malinowski returned to the subject of

functional anthropology in the 'Special Foreword' that he wrote for the third edition of *The Sexual Life of Savages*. He wrote: 'I have been speaking of the functional method as if it were an old-established school of anthropology. Let me confess at once: the magnificent title of the Functional School of Anthropology has been bestowed by myself, in a way on myself, and to a large extent out of my own sense of irresponsibility.' In reference to the article of 1926 in which he claimed a special place for 'the functional analysis of culture,' he wrote: 'I was fully aware then that I was speaking of a New Movement, which hardly existed, and that in a way I was making myself into the captain, the general staff, and the body of privates of an army that was not yet there.'

From that time Malinowski took the view that the name 'functional anthropology,' which he had invented, ought to be used only for his own theoretical point of view. In 1939 he published an article in the *American Journal of Sociology* in which he wrote as follows:—

'When I speak of "functionalism" here I mean the brand which I have produced and am cultivating myself. My friend, Professor R. H. Lowie of Berkeley, has in his last book, *The History of Ethnological Theory* (1937), introduced the distinction between "pure" and "tempered" functionalism—my brand being the pure one. Usually Professor Radcliffe-Brown's name is linked with mine as a representative of the functional school. Here the distinction between "plain" and "hyphenated" functionalism might be introduced. . . . In this article functionalism "plain and pure" will be briefly outlined.'

The definition of 'plain and pure' functional anthropology is as follows: 'Functionalism is, in its essence, the theory of transformation of organic—that is, individual—needs into derived cultural necessities and imperatives.' The 'function' of any social or cultural feature of a society, by reference to which it is to be explained or understood, is its relation to what are called the basic biological needs of individuals, namely, 'nutrition, reproduction, bodily comforts, safety, relaxation, movement, and growth.'

Malinowski's last words on the subject are to be found in the posthumously published volume entitled *A Scientific Theory of Culture* (1944). He treats only of 'culture' and avoids any use of the terms 'social' or 'society.' Culture, he holds, is the subject of a science, and the method of science 'is nothing else than the establishment of general laws, and of concepts which embody such laws.' What he calls an 'individual culture' is, he holds, 'a coherent

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol XLIV, p. 939

'whole' or 'integral' composed of 'institutions.' As instances of institutions he mentions 'the family, the clan, the local community, the tribe and the organized teams of economic co-operation, political, legal, and educational activity.' Every institution has a constitution or 'charter,' a personnel, certain norms (rules), certain material apparatus, and certain activities.

The term 'function' is now used in reference to institutions. Every institution performs a function, which is defined as meaning that it satisfies certain needs. 'Under the charter of their purpose or traditional mandate, obeying the specific norms of their association, working through the material apparatus which they manipulate, human beings act together and thus satisfy some of their desires.'<sup>4</sup> Needs are of two kinds, basic and derivative (also called contingent). The basic needs are 'biological,' they are found in all human beings everywhere. They are seven in number: metabolism, reproduction, bodily comforts, safety, movement, growth, and health. The basic biological needs give rise to certain derived needs or 'cultural imperatives,' and these produce certain 'cultural responses.' These are social control, economics, education, and political organization. It is ultimately the relation of an institution to the basic biological needs that defines its function and gives us an explanation of it.

Functional anthropology in its final phase may be defined, therefore, as the study of the *biological* function of culture or institutions. Social, or, as Herbert Spencer called them, super-organic, phenomena are found amongst many species of animals besides man. In many species the aggregation of individuals has a biological function giving the individual a somewhat better chance of survival. In more advanced species co-operation amongst individuals assists them in meeting their needs. It is obvious that in the human species social life or culture has a similar biological function. The question that arises is whether this enables us to explain the characteristics of human social life.

In our own species the forms of association and co-operation are different in different portions of mankind. It is these differences that provide the material for social anthropology to study and that set our problems. A theory must account for the differences between human societies as well as the general characters common to all of them. It is this that the theory of social or super-organic evolution attempts to do.

But the basic biological needs of human individuals, whether we accept Malinowski's catalogue of seven or not, are the same in all societies. It is difficult to see how reference to these needs can enable us to

understand the manifold diversity that characterizes the forms of association amongst human beings. Yet this is the fundamental axiom of functional anthropology. 'Religion can be shown to be intrinsically though indirectly connected with man's fundamental, that is, biological needs.' But does any demonstration of this provide an explanation for the diversities found amongst religions? Malinowski has not tried to show how this can be done.

For Malinowski's functional anthropology the abstract individual, defined by reference to the seven biological needs, is the ultimate. Culture is no more than the instrument by which these needs are satisfied. 'Society' and 'social' came to be for him, in the end, words and concepts to be rigidly avoided. 'Social organization is the standardized manner in which groups behave.' It is therefore 'a part of culture.'<sup>5</sup> Malinowski's study from 1930 was not 'social anthropology' but 'cultural anthropology.'<sup>6</sup>

The view which Malinowski rejected after 1930 and which he held was not entitled to be called functional, the view held by Durkheim, Roscoe Pound, and others, including myself, is concerned not with biological functions but with social functions, not with the abstract biological 'individual,' but with the concrete 'persons' of a particular society. It cannot be expressed in terms of culture. A social system is a system of ordered social relations in a given collection of human beings. The *social* function of a religion, of a system of law or morals or etiquette, is the contribution it makes to creating or maintaining the equilibrium of the system. The view is taken by some of us that the study of social functions in this sense is a necessary part of any attempt to arrive at an understanding of the characteristics of human societies. If we wish to speak of social function in terms of need we may say that any human society, if it is to continue as a society, has need of a certain measure of order and stability.

Malinowski's writings on the Trobriand Islands, particularly the earlier ones, do enable us to learn something about the social functions of Trobriand customs and beliefs. Moreover, Malinowski explains that the basic biological needs give rise to certain derived needs, of two kinds, 'instrumental' and 'integrative.' It would seem that by these integrative needs we are to understand the need to integrate human beings into society. In fact we are told: 'The essential fact of culture as we live it and experience it, as we can observe it scientifically, is the organization of human beings into permanent groups.' But this does not seem, at least verbally,

<sup>4</sup> *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences*, s.v. Culture.

<sup>5</sup> A society consists of interacting human beings. There are many different definitions of culture but no one has yet suggested that a culture consists of human beings.

<sup>6</sup> *A Scientific Theory of Culture*, p. 43

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 39

consistent with the view that social organization is itself merely a part of culture and that the integrative needs, which are presumably met by social organization, are only derived needs which require to be explained by the basic biological needs from which they are derived.

Malinowski's work falls into three phases. The first (1910-1914) saw the production of his useful study of *The Family among the Australian Aborigines* (1913), written under the direct influence of Westermarck. His second phase is represented by the valuable series of books and papers he wrote about the Trobriand Islands from 1916 to 1935. The third phase overlaps a little with the second. It may be regarded

as making a definite beginning with the article 'Culture' in the *Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences* (1931) and was predominant in the years 1936 to 1942. This was the phase of the elaboration of the theory of functional anthropology. To me it seems that Malinowski's real contribution to the comparative study of human societies is to be found in the works of the second phase. He himself, however, attached great importance to the biological theory of culture which he developed in the third phase. For this he claimed the appellation 'functional anthropology' plain and pure.

I do not know if there are any anthropologists who are functionalists in the terms of Malinowski's final definition. I hope it is clear that I am not

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS

### The Institute's Library at 21, Bedford Square, W.C.1

**31** At the beginning of hostilities in 1939 a large part of the Institute Library was evacuated for safety to South Wales. These evacuated books are now being brought back to London, and steps are being taken to improve the classification and arrangement of the whole library. It is hoped therefore that in due course the Institute will be in a position to offer greatly improved library facilities. Meanwhile a preliminary stocktaking has revealed that many volumes listed in the card catalogue are missing. It will be several months before

it is possible to compile any complete list of missing volumes, but meanwhile all Fellows who have used the library at any time during the past ten years are most urgently requested to search through their shelves in order to verify that they have not inadvertently retained volumes beyond the legitimate loan-period. All Fellows are reminded that books should on no account be removed from the Institute's premises unless an appropriate record card has been completed and handed over to the Librarian.

## PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES

### International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.

**32** During the Second Session of this Congress, at Copenhagen in 1938, proposals for the Third Session, to be held in 1942 were referred by the Permanent Council to the Bureau appointed to deal with the business of the Congress between Sessions. But the outbreak of war prevented any decision.

The next regular year for a Session of the Congress will be 1946. In view of the present situation, the surviving and accessible members of the Bureau have agreed to refer the decision as to the Third Session to the Permanent Council of the Congress, at the earliest possible date; and have received from the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland an invitation to hold such a meeting in England.

This meeting will be held at Oxford, on the invitation of the Sub-Faculty of Anthropology in the University, from Friday, April 12, to Monday, April 15. Accommodation has been reserved for the members of the Permanent Council in New College, Oxford, and the sessions will be held in the University School of Geography.

In connexion with this meeting, the Royal Anthropological Institute invites the members of the Permanent Council to a special Meeting and Reception in London on Tuesday, April 16; the programme of which will be announced in due course.

It is earnestly hoped that this meeting may prepare the way for a full session of the Congress in the near

future, and renew the friendly co-operation of former years.

### Palæolithic Deposits in Anatolia.

**33** Recent finds are described by Professor Sevkett Aziz Kansu of the University of Ankara in the *Belleten* of the Turkish Historical Society, IX, 34 (1945), pp. 293-299. At Altın-dere near the Pisidian Antioch, hand axes and a scraper were found by Mr. Nureddin Can at a depth of 1-30 m. Among implements from Etiyokusu near Ankara, is a hand axe of Micocq type. Levallois flaked implements of obsidian have been found by Mr. Halil Hasdemir near Nigde and Nevşehir.

Professor Kansu has also published with Dr. Semha Tunakan the skulls found in the Society's excavations at Alaca-Höyük, with careful drawings and full measurements (*Belleten*, IX, 36 (1945), pp. 411-422, pl. lxxxiv-xci).

Preliminary reconnaissance in the lake-region round Isparta and Burdur revealed a mesolithic station with abundant pygmy tools in sandhills near the railway near Baradız; Awriguacián deposits in the caves, north of the railway station of Bozanonü; and remains of copper-age, Hittite, and later periods, including urn-burials in Kosktepe mound between Burdur and Isparta (*Belleten*, IX, 34 (1945), pp. 277-287, pl. xlv-lm).

Thanks to these, and other recent finds, of which a bibliography is appended (pp. 297-299), it begins to be possible to reconstruct the main features of the prehistoric cultures of Anatolia.

**'Gupta Influence in Early Chinese Sculpture.'** *Summary of a Lecture by Mr. J. H. Lindsay*

34

It has been generally held that the earliest Buddhist-sculpture in China, that of the Northern Wei from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century, was inspired by the 'Graeco-Buddhist' sculpture of Gandhara, an inspiration that had travelled across Central Asia. An investigation, suggested by Professor Yetts, into the accessory elements of early Chinese Buddhist sculpture, however, has thrown doubt on this theory. A study of the *bodhisattva* figures at the Yun-kang caves, the earliest collection of this sculpture, shows some strong contrasts between the figures from Gandhara and those from Yun-kang. The former are short, overloaded with bracelets, armlets, necklaces, and garlands, with a large circular halo behind the head and shoulders. The latter are tall, dignified figures, without a trace of jewellery and with a curious leaf-shaped halo, dating from A.D. 460. Shortly after the opening of the sixth century there appeared in the West of China, at Hua-yn and Ch'ang-an, *bodhisattva* figures fashioned on the Gandhara model with profusion of jewels, large circular halo and short body. The inspiration for these was obviously from Gandhara; that for the Yun-kang ones must have come from some other part of India. As the Gupta renaissance in India was at its height in the fifth century, search was directed to the Indian sculpture of the Gupta period with fascinating results. The Indian and Chinese were found to fit into each other, the

Chinese following the Indian at an interval of thirty to fifty years.

In early Gupta work the *bodhisattvas* were clothed like Buddhas without any jewels as at Yun-kang. Later the Gupta *bodhisattvas* were ornamented with light jewellery, growing more and more profuse. The later sculpture in Eastern China followed this development step by step. In early Gupta work the halo is plain, but later in the fifth century the elaborately decorated halo was introduced. It appeared in Eastern China at the beginning of the sixth century. Pillars with capitals ornamented with two lions back to back were characteristic of the Gupta period. Such lions were found at Yun-kang at the tops of the pillars framing the Buddha niches. The *makara*, that curious hybrid of elephant and fish, common in Central and Southern India, was found in his proper position at the side of Buddha in the caves at Yun-kang and Lung-mên. The *kirtī-mukha* masks, skulls holding hanging garlands, were common on Buddhist temples in Gupta India. They were present in the caves at Lung-mên. Most characteristic of all was the close-fitting robe of the Gupta statues, indicated almost wholly by the carving of the margins of the cloth. At Yun-kang were found representations of the Hindu gods, Siva and Vishnu, also clad in this typical Gupta fashion.

As this Gupta work appeared on the East of China, while on the West there were figures that had come across Central Asia, it seems probable that the Gupta inspiration reached China from South India by the sea route.

## OBITUARY

**Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., 1867-1945**

35

Englishmen with brain and initiative were fortunate in the last century in the many opportunities open to them for exploration and for historical research. When Percy Sykes left Sandhurst, he joined an English cavalry regiment but soon found that even when stationed abroad a regimental life offered him no outlet for his capabilities, and he soon determined to look elsewhere for his career. He had read much of Persia and was attracted by it, so on his second leave he determined to make a journey through it to rejoin his regiment in India. Sailing down the east coast of the Caspian and landing at the south-east corner he rode to Asterabad, then on to Meshed and Kishân, and thence started on a long journey across the Lut, the central desert, to Kermân, delighted to know that he was following the route taken by Marco Polo some six hundred years earlier. Riding through unsurveyed country, he discovered a range of high hills not marked on any map. This journey whetted his appetite for exploration; some months later he again took leave and made a second journey in eastern Persia, exploring Persian Baluchistan and Makran; he discovered the Koh-i-taftan to be a live volcano, not, as was generally supposed, extinct, and he climbed both this and the extinct volcano of Bazman; more important, he was again able to explore large tracts of unmapped country. Delighted with Persia and liking the Persians, he left his regiment, and under the Indian Government was sent to open the first British Consulate in Kermân.

His special gifts of observation, accurate writing, historical interest, and his desire to explore were now developed to their full extent. With his sister Ella, who

from this time on accompanied him on his journeys and whose delightful personality smoothed his way, he set himself to map the country, study and write on the legends and history of Persia and customs among the tribes. He made another four years' journey through eastern Persia, landing at Bandar-Abbas, and later was made Consul at Meshed. In 1908 the Royal Geographical Society awarded him the Gold Medal for his maps and surveys.

As Consul he established excellent relations with townsmen and tribesmen. During his years in Persia the oil-fields became of paramount importance to Great Britain and good relations with the Persian Government a matter of concern at home. So Sykes' books were useful and opportune. No others gave so complete a picture of the country at that time. *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia* and *The Glory of the Shia World* by Sir Percy, and *Through Persia on a Side Saddle* by Ella Sykes, published in the first decade of this century, were followed in 1915 by the two volume *History of Persia*, a survey from the earliest times to the beginning of the first World War, and so written that it could be kept up to date. The test of Sir Percy Sykes' work came in 1916 and his good name and the respect which he had earned stood him in good stead. Germany was preparing her 'Drang nach Osten' and he was sent out with a handful of men to raise the South Persia Rifles; the story of the success of this expedition and the bearing it had on the surrounding countries has still to be written: here it is sufficient to say that though the difficulties were great, the pro-German agents were routed and peace was restored among the tribes which Wassmus had unsettled. Sir Percy was made G.O.C. in South Persia, a post which he held until 1918, and during these years British prestige rose high. His integrity,

common sense, courage, and generous-mindedness stimulated those he worked with to do their best and were qualities which the Persians most admired.

In 1918 he was sent to relieve Sir George Macartney in Chinese Turkestan and he and his sister brought out an account of the year they spent there: *Deserts and Oases of Central Asia* is not perhaps as good as the books on Persia, but it gives an accurate description of a very little known part of the world which has changed rapidly.

In 1919 Sir Percy retired and settled for a time in Switzerland where he gained some insight into European politics. He came to England in 1932 and continued to write; a life of Sir Mortimer Durand, the British Minister in Teheran when he first went out and whom he admired, was published and the *History of Persia* was brought up to date in a second and later a third edition. At the time of his death he was preparing matter for a fourth edition. *The Quest for Cathay* and *The History of Exploration* were slighter books, and in the last years he brought out a *History of Afghanistan* as companion to his *Persia*. He was, however, not only a writer. On settling in London he took over the Honorary Secretaryship of the Royal Central Asian Society which flourished exceedingly with his help. He had joined the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1902 and had presented it with very complete notes on tribal customs which are of special value in a world where even the nomadic peoples are touched with the desire to 'modernize.' He was a member of the Royal Geographical Society, of the Royal Asiatic Society, and of the Royal Institute for International Affairs, and his interest never failed.

Persia must always be of importance to England, for it lies on the highway to the East. Sir Percy Sykes is still remembered among the Persians and the Iranian Government has translated the *History* into Persian. The first volume reached the General before his death. No one has done more to make that country known and no one has left with the Persians a happier memory, while the honours accorded to him show the value the home government placed on his work.

He was always careful not to hurt the feelings of others, was devoted to his family and very thoughtful for those who worked under him. He had splendid health and immense energy and was able to accomplish much and to finish his work. He spoke of himself as a 'lucky man' for whom things turned out well, fortunate in his work, fortunate in his generation, and happy in the memory he leaves with his friends.

M. N. K.

#### Ormonde Maddock Dalton, 1866–1945

**36** Born in 1866 and educated at Harrow and New College, Oxford. Ormonde Dalton entered the British Museum in 1895, and became a life fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute in the same year. He was a member of the Institute's Council till 1912, and Honorary Secretary 1896–98. One of his first tasks in the Museum was the Catalogue of Antiquities from Benin, in collaboration with Charles Hercules Read (1899), but he soon devoted himself to his life work in early Christian and Byzantine antiquity, in which he became a world-wide authority after the publication of his monumental *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*. Besides a number of Museum catalogues and guides at intervals from 1901, he published in 1925 a general survey of *East Christian Art*, on the lines of Strzygowski's pioneer *Origins of Christian Church Art*, which he had already translated (1923), in collaboration with H. J. Braunholtz, and showed himself a distinguished critic of the literary

sources for this period, in his translations of Sidonius Apollinaris (1915) and Gregory of Tours (1927). He also wrote the British Museum guide to the mediæval collections, collaborated in the *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collection*, and published the Royal Gold Cup, the Oxus Treasure, the Vancouver Collection, and other special acquisitions. When the department was divided in 1921, he became Keeper of the British and Mediæval Antiquities, and retired from the Museum in 1927.

Other works, of intimate meditation, published under the name of W. Compton Leith, were *Apologia Diffidentis* (1908), *Sireneca* (1913), and *Domus Doloris* (1919). They reveal, behind his intense shyness, a temperament of peculiar refinement and charm.

By his will, his estate passes to New College, Oxford.

JOHN L. MYRES

**37** Dalton's connexion with anthropology began in 1895 when he was appointed to an Assistantship in the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities and Ethnography in the British Museum, shortly before the retirement and death of Sir Wollaston Flanks. In the previous five years he had travelled widely, first in Europe and then in India, where he spent two years, and other parts of the Far East, whence he returned to England *via* America.

In the Museum, until T. A. Joyce's arrival in 1902, Dalton was charged with much of the ethnographical work of the Department under the supervision of C. H. (later Sir Hercules) Read, and assisted by James Edge-Pattington. Shortly after his appointment he joined the Anthropological Institute, and was its Hon. Secretary for two years from 1896–98, during which period he edited the *Journal*. The President, E. W. Brabrook, C.B., F.S.A., in his annual address for 1898 referred to the successful way in which Dalton had carried out the arrangements for the meetings and to the excellent issues of the *Journal* under his editorship. He continued to sit on the Institute's Council and to contribute articles and reviews to MAN until 1912; but after about 1905 his interests shifted increasingly to early Christian and Byzantine studies. His principal contributions to ethnographical literature were on the newly acquired collections from Benin (in collaboration with Read), which embodied a great deal of research and remain standard works of reference. 'Works of Art from Benin City' in *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, Vol. XXVII (1898), and *Antiquities from the City of Benin* (1899). He also contributed valuable articles to MAN on *Nahou MSS.* 1902, 54 and 67, the Easter Island inscribed tablets, 1904, 1 and 78, as well as an illustrated description of the *Ethnographical Collection formed during the Voyage of Capt. Vancouver* (now in the British Museum), published in *Internat. Archiv. für Ethnographie*, Vol. X (1897). He collaborated with T. A. Joyce in the Museum *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections* (1910), writing the first part of the Introduction, and parts of the Asiatic and Oceanic sections. His official *Report on Ethnographical Museums in Germany* (H.M. Stat. Off., 1898) was also of value in drawing attention to the need for more generous support, both official and unofficial, for ethnographical museums in England, which at that time compared unfavourably in some respects with those of Germany. In all his writing Dalton combined a refined literary style with scientific rigour; he spared no pains in consulting and appraising all the relevant sources, and his expositions were models of lucidity. If he did not suffer ignorance or carelessness in others gladly, he certainly applied the severest standards to himself,

and never permitted anything slipshod to escape his pen.

As a colleague in the British Museum, where the writer knew him personally from 1913 onwards, he inspired respect and affection in an unusual degree. Although he never entirely overcame the extreme shyness and diffidence which tormented his youth, and which are feelingly described in *Apologia Diffidentis*, his essentially human and kindly nature, and indeed his idiosyncracies, endeared him to his more intimate colleagues. To his juniors he was particularly sympathetic and helpful in difficulties. After Read's retirement in 1921 Dalton became Keeper of the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities, henceforth dissociated from Ceramics and Ethnography, until his own retirement in 1927. But to one of his scholarly mind the distractions and irritations of administrative duties, faithfully and excellently as he discharged them, were distasteful, and it was with little regret that he exchanged them and their metropolitan setting for the peace and seclusion of the English countryside, which had always made a strong appeal to his romantic nature.

Those of his friends who were privileged to visit him in his residence at Bath or his charming cottage at Holford in the Quantocks will not readily forget his solicitude for their comfort, nor the genial manner of his entertainment. There was a rare and subtle flavour about his society. In his conversation he could be appreciative, humorous, or severely critical, and showed a pleasant aptitude for literary allusion, while his judgment of people and things was generally illuminating. Although he spoke little of himself, one sensed that he had passed through deep waters of spiritual experience, and this,

for some of his friends at least, added not a little to his sympathetic attraction. H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ

For a fuller account of Dalton's life, and in particular of his contributions to Byzantine studies and his long association with the Society of Antiquaries, there are obituaries by Sir George Hill in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XXXI (1945), and by A. B. Tomlinson in *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. XXV (1945).

#### Neil Linklater McNabb, 1921-1945

**38** On September 30, 1945, occurred the tragic death of Staff-Sergeant N. L. McNabb, due to a railway accident at Bourne End. McNabb, a Canadian from Saskatchewan, entered the field of cultural anthropology via astronomy and applied anatomy at Harvard University. He transferred his whole interest into the problem of the Amerindian, and his field-work—especially of an old Indian Burial Ground—attracted the attention of the National Museum at Ottawa, where he subsequently joined the staff. One of his ambitious while in England was to trace a treaty, some 200 years old, between the North Amerindians and the then British Government, the finding of which would, in his considered opinion, have benefited the existing tribes. During June of this year, McNabb spent his furlough doing field-work in North Wales, first at a 'Hut Circle' at Craig Lwyd and secondly at a 'Stone Axe Factory' near Penmaenmawr. In his last communication to me, he enclosed a copy of the report he had made during his excavations. He was buried at Brookwood Cemetery on October 9, with military honours, 'representation from his Unit reflecting the high esteem in which he was held.' DORIAN SWEDE

## REVIEWS

### General

**The Science of Man in the World Crisis.** Edited by Ralph Linton. Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. xiv + 532. Price 4 dollars. (Oxford University Press, 23s. 6d.)

**39** This volume of essays by twenty-two American writers is dedicated 'to all who have applied the techniques of science to the solving of human problems,' and will be widely welcomed by them. It illustrates both the wide outlook and prevalent methods of anthropological schools in the United States, and the determination to bring their researches and conclusions to the test of practical problems. For the builders of a new social order, as the preface insists, must 'understand the potentialities and limitations of their human material.' They must take long enough views to allow for gradual trends, and they must be prepared to make use of adequate techniques, such as anthropological research provides.

The editor has had no easy task, either in selecting topics, or in finding contributors under war-conditions. He has evidently had two main objects in view: to exhibit the scope and aims of anthropology, especially on its cultural side, and in relation to the processes of cultural change, which are observed in higher and lower cultures alike (pp. 1-200), and, with this outlook and method presupposed, to examine anthropologically the present state of world resources, consequent population problems, and the specific applications of anthropology to colonial administration, minority questions, community study, communications and co-operation, and the ultimate issues of nationalism, internationalism, and the extinction of war (pp. 201-520). To each half of the book he prefixes his own presentation of the issues, introducing his collaborators and indicating the coherence of their separate essays. But he has not attempted to conflate or reconcile. Only one item has been unavoidably abridged: the lively

conversation staged by Kluckhohn and Kelly on the 'Concept of Culture,' with no less than four types of anthropologist, as well as a psychologist, a philosopher, and a business man. Linguistics and archaeology are excluded, as their contributions are only departmental and indirect, to a generalized 'Science of Man' centred round recent studies of personality and culture.

What will impress British and many European readers is the prominence of psychological considerations. Like Hobbs in the seventeenth century, and Collingwood recently in *The New Leviathan*, the enquiry has to begin afresh with the individual—of animal antecedents but human intelligence. As Shapno puts it (p. 19) 'The variety of societies in which society can live is enormous. But all of them in greater or less degree reflect the biological man,' all the more evidently as the barriers between specific and regional modes of life are overthrown, and 'resources' and 'populations' at large are confronted starkly as primary factors; and as our ideas become clearer as to the relative unimportance of racial peculiarities, in comparison with man's immense adaptability as an individual and in his group. Thus human biology becomes 'an essential field of research from which society may profit.' An example is the investigation of hybrid vigour (*heterosis*), and the plasticity of physical types maintained by Boas and Bowles. Krogman's careful study of the 'Concept of Race' leads similarly to the place of 'racial performance' in culture (p. 61), and to Klineberg's appeal for more work in 'Racial Psychology,' where opinion is in rapid transition (p. 62).

Psychology is still to the fore in the symposium already mentioned on the 'Concept of Culture,' with its 'implication of human interference—something being added to, or altered from, a state of nature.' There is however a curious slip here: 'civilization' etymologically is not the culture of



people who live in cities, but the peculiarity and achievements of people who are mutually *civiles*—reasonable tractable beings who understand each other and make allowances, like the *epieikês* of Greek moralists; the contrary term is *hostos*, the 'outsider' who does all the wrong things, neither understanding or caring. All Roman law, *ius civile*, rests upon this mutual intention to do the right thing. But this literary point does not affect the revelation of culture as a 'distinctive way of life' transmitted from man to man by learning and teaching; a map or abstract representation of trends towards uniformity: as Pope put it:

'Man never is, but always to be blest

It is a spontaneous reaction to circumstances and above all to neighbours: 'cultural determinism' would be as objectionable as geographical or economic, to an anthropologist (p. 94). In retrospect, culture is the 'precipitate of history' which is the record of the civilizing process. The utility of the conception is in relation to the 'universally human sense of guilt or shame' (p. 103), man's capacity for self-judgment, for 'knowing himself,' as they said in Delphi. And a sound theory of culture has its utility (p. 103), as a forecast of human expectations, and of action to realize them. There is here a valuable bibliography of recent work on these lines (p. 106).

The historical attitude is maintained in Kardner's chapters on 'Basic Personality Structure,' and the value of biographies is stressed as tests of hypotheses of personality; and Murdock's 'Common Denominator of Culture' as response to impulses and interests, relaxing the 'stress' or 'drive' and acquiring value and permanence. The bearing of this outlook on education is important; for education is supported by no primary impulse (p. 134) and public service is not self-rewarding. American opinion seems to be divided as to the mechanism of the 'survival of the fittest'; but inevitably cultural changes are *learned* by each generation or grade: stimuli, prior habit, and the limited actual possibility on each occasion contributing to the content of what is learned.

This brings Herskovits to examine the 'Processes of Cultural Change,' on the same dynamic hypothesis (p. 146) of continual variation. He has frank criticism both of the 'historical' and of the 'functional' hypothesis; challenging both by appeal to the facts of culture contact, of which he has made so wide and special a study. He emphasizes once again the fundamental role of the individual, the distinction between 'invention' and 'discovery,' and the significance of the 'focus' usually recognizable in any culture—religious, for example, in West Africa, technological in modern European where the 'inventor' in immaterial matters is revealed as the revolutionary, like the inventor of gunpowder or atom-bombs. What is characteristic and significant in the present situation is the general consciousness that conditions are changing, and that something has got to be done about it. It may be noted here that European-trained people instinctively try to *make* something that will work: not many as yet attempt to *be* somebody who can make things work as they should.

The same argument is pursued by Hallowell, examining the 'Socio-psychological Aspects of Acculturation.' Man is not created by 'culture,' but creates it: 'Cultures have never met, nor ever will meet': what is meant is that *people* meet. But they may meet like billiard-balls: 'learning never takes place without some drive or motivation' (p. 175), of which some curious instances are given. The learner *wants, notices, does, and gets* something: this applies alike to the influence of traders and of missionaries, both alike 'sales-men' of their goods for various considerations, not least for freedom from anxiety (p. 193), a suggestion which needs to be developed far.

Here is a profession of faith and of doctrine, not written for beginners, and sometimes hard reading for European colleagues, but stimulating and opportune. In the vast experiments in 'acculturation' which are in unavoidable progress, it should be welcome and widely studied: for we have been too much inclined to concentrate on the more immediate task—as it has seemed—of gathering up the fragments of the vanishing cultures of the past, and have (deliberately or otherwise) thrown onto our successors the task of explana-

tion. Well, here is a first commando of theorists, themselves for the most part field-workers, but trained in institutions where oral discussion counts for much more than in our tongue-tied class rooms. This makes for discursive arguments, and an over-copious vocabulary, but these are exploratory too. One has the impression of a great seriousness and determination in such applied anthropology.

Little place remains for comment on the specific discussions on 'World Resources' (Meyerhoff), 'Population Problems' (Sax), the 'Changing American Indian' (Steward), the 'Colonial Crisis' (Kennedy), 'Minority Groups' (Wirth), 'Colonial Administration' (Keesing), 'Indianist Policy' (Gamio), 'Community Study' (Taylor), 'New Social Habits' (Dollard), 'Communication Research' (Lazarsfeld and Knupper), and 'Nationalism, Internationalism, and War' (Kirk). All are worthy of their company and of the general design.

The editor has done well to prefix a brief account of his collaborators: too few of them are as well known abroad as their contributions deserve. JOHN L. MYRES

## AMERICA

**Old Oraibi.** By Mischel Tator. *Papers of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Vol. XXII, No. 1.* Cambridge, U.S.A., 1944. 273 pages, 11 charts.

It is not often that such a good ethnographic work as the present is published. Part One deals with Kinship and social organization, Part Two with Hopi Ceremonialism, Part Three is a Miscellany, Part Four is an Appendix.

The kinship system and the reciprocal duties and behaviour of kindred are very fully treated. The author shows the great extension of the terms, and the different kinds of extension, both by kinship relation and by certain ceremonial relationships. It is well to have this done, as one often sees ethnographical studies which do not make apparent how far the terms are extended. The lineages, clans, and phratries are also well elucidated, and the true nature of each of these groups is shown, a point on which there has hitherto been much confusion. He rightly holds, agreeing with L. H. Morgan, that lineages have developed into clans, and clans into phratries, and that, though fusion of groups may have sometimes occurred, the main tendency of evolution has been not towards fusion but towards extension and segmentation of groups. One might add that the classificatory kinship terms if carried out to their logical implications would produce unilateral groups embracing the whole community. In several parts of the world both patrilineal and matrilineal exogamous groups coexist in the same community, but more generally only one line is emphasized patrilineal with patrilineal marriage, matrilineal with matrilineal marriage, as with the Hopi.

In this connection it is interesting that the author finds some evidence in favour of the former existence of cross-cousin marriage, which is the foundation of exogamous divisions everywhere, as can be seen by the work of Prof. Radcliffe-Brown in Australia.

Another illuminating section is that dealing with the 'Amorphous Hopi State.' A similar situation seems to exist in most primitive communities. This leads naturally to the succeeding chapter on the disintegration of Oraibi, where we see the inability of the community officials to prevent disintegration.

A large portion of the book is devoted to the complex ceremonies. Although much has been written by others on this subject the author puts the whole ceremonial structure in a much better integrated and more coherent form, both as to the order of the ceremonies and their relation to the clans, and also as to their significance. The scheme of Hopi ceremonialism, with the cult of the dead, the concept of the year's duality, the cycle of life, and death, and the meaning of Hopi religion, make interesting reading.

There is a good chapter on the economic background, describing both farming and hunting and the ceremonies observed in certain cases.

The author has elsewhere given an account of the calendrical methods of the Sunwatchers, but a certain amount of informa-



tion about them is given in the book under review. Also there is an outline ceremonial calendar for the year and a list of officials with their clan affiliations.

RICHARD C. E. LONG

**Handbook of Latin-American Studies. 1941. No. 7.**  
**41** *Harvard Press and Oxford University Press. 1942.*  
*Pp. 649.*

This excellent publication continues the good work of former volumes. A new feature is a large section dealing with publications on Labour questions.

As usual there are very full bibliographies and several useful summaries of work done in various fields of science and literature. The bibliographies contain short comments on some of the books. These on books known to the reviewer are very apt.

Space does not permit of notice of all features, but mention should be made of the article on South American Ethnology by Mr. Alfred Métraux. In it he gives a valuable survey of the present state of knowledge and emphasizes the many fields in which investigation is urgently required before the cultures disappear. His criticisms on the existing studies of South American cultures are unhappily only too well founded. He calls attention to many studies of 'material culture,' which are only enumerations and descriptions of objects without attempt to elucidate their function. Techniques which could have been observed in the field have often been reconstructed from museum specimens, and the inadequacy of the literature is particularly striking on the subject of social structure. We have little or no information on the social system of most South American groups. As to linguistics there is not, he says, a single scientific grammar of any South American language, and even for Aymara, a language spoken by about a million Indians, one must use grammars and dictionaries written in the seventeenth century.

RICHARD C. E. LONG

**The North American Indian To-day: University of**  
**42** **Toronto and Yale University Seminar Conference,**  
**September 4-16, 1939.** *Edited by C. T. Loram (†)*  
*and T. F. McIlwraith. University of Toronto Press ;*  
*London. Humphrey Milford, O.U.P. 1943. Pp. xi + 361.*  
*Price \$3.00 ; English price 18s. 6d.*

The University of Toronto-Yale University Seminar Conference was initiated by Prof. C. T. Loram of the Department of Race Relations at Yale. Its object was the informal discussion of the manifold problems of the Indian as he stands to-day, a minority group in the North American population, battered by four centuries of first undirected and later largely misdirected acculturation. It was attended by anthropologists, United States and Dominion government Indian administrators, missionaries, traders, representatives of lay associations on Indian affairs, and some Indians. The present book consists of the thirty papers offered as bases for discussion, together with the Conclusions and Resolutions and a list of members of the Conference. American and Canadian papers are alternated throughout, with connecting paragraphs by Prof. McIlwraith, upon whom the main work of editing devolved after the death of Prof. Loram in 1940. Some idea of their scope may be gained from the main headings: The Fundamentals of Indian-White Contact; The Basis of Indian Life; The Impact of Europe; The Indian and the Missionary; The Indian and the Government; The Problems of Land and Economics, Health, Laws, and Education; Arts and Crafts; Race Tension.

Specifically anthropological contributions are limited to brief summaries of the principal aboriginal cultures of the United States (by Ruth M. Underhill) and Canada (by T. F. McIlwraith), although R. G. Bonnycastle's point about the early reorientation of the hunting economy of the northern Indians is worthy of note. The anthropologist may however feel with gratification that the acceptance of his doctrine of cultural relativity is implicit in the drastic revision of United States Indian policy achieved by Commissioner John Collier under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.

Two points in H. W. McGill's paper call for comment. First, he is not quite correct in supposing that the Caribs of

the West Indies have 'entirely disappeared' (p. 137). Of the 450-odd inhabitants of the Carib Reserve in Dominica, B.W.I., some 150 appear to be of relatively pure Indian (Carib-Arawak) blood, although native culture and language are now vestigial. Second, on p. 139, Dr. McGill describes the Blackfoot Confederacy as consisting of 'three tribes of 'entirely diverse racial origin, speaking quite different 'languages.' The Confederacy proper was made up of the three linguistically homogeneous Algonkian tribes of Blackfoot, Blood, and Piegan. Allied with them at various times were the Sarsi and Gros Ventre (Atsina). The former certainly are Athapaskan, the latter Algonkian. The explanation of the error, supposing that Dr. McGill had this larger grouping in mind, may perhaps be sought in the inadvertent attribution of the Gros Ventre to the Siouan stock in Jenness's *Indians of Canada* (Ottawa, 1932).

While, perhaps inevitably, the Conference failed to reach complete agreement on all points, it was felt that its main purpose had been fulfilled. Of the urgency of the problems there can be no doubt. Since 1939 great numbers of Indian men and women have entered war industry and the armed forces, and are now scattered over almost all the world. The new skills and perspectives thus acquired must affect profoundly the acculturative process. At the same time the Indians themselves are voicing the conviction that their present sacrifices entitle them to the most sympathetic consideration of their special claims. It is greatly to be hoped that the interchange of viewpoints and experiences on the part of interested bodies begun at Toronto may be developed at regular future conferences. In the meantime this book deserves the serious attention of all interested in the practical aspects of culture contact, whether for scientific or for humanitarian reasons.

G. E. S. TURNER

**Notes on Middle American Archeology and Ethnology,**  
**43** **Nos. 7-30. Carnegie Institution. Washington D.C.,**  
**U.S.A. 1942-44. Pp. 178. Mimeographed.**

A review of the first six papers in this series has already been published (MAN, 1942, 90), though it is omitted in the index. The present review covers the remaining numbers in the first volume.

J. Eric S. Thompson has papers on 'Glyph G. of the Lunar Series,' on 'Representations of Tezcatlipoca at Chichen Itza,' on 'Sculptures from Quezaltenango,' on 'Stela 14, 'Piedras Negras' and 'Stela 19 Naranjo,' on 'Representations of Tlalchitonatuh at Chichen Itza,' on 'Directional glyphs, on a Maya cycle of 819 days' and on a 'Figurine representing a ball-game player.' Space prevents dealing with all of these interesting papers but special mention should be made of those on directional glyphs and on the 819 day cycle. In each of these, Mr. Thompson, as often before, has disclosed a quite new line of investigation in Maya studies. The paper on Piedras Negras and Naranjo, too, offers an improved reading and raises some interesting questions, while in that on Quezaltenango further evidence is given as to the 400-day year.

A. V. Kidder has papers on archaeological specimens from Yucatan and Guatemala, on pottery from the Pacific Slope of Guatemala, on spindle whorls from Chichen Itza and on grooved axes from Central America. John Howland Rowe has one on a new pottery style from Peru. R. C. E. Long writes on the payment of tribute in the Codex Mendoza and also on Aztec chronology. In the latter paper it is shown that the chronology of Vaillant should be lengthened by one calendar-round. R. H. Barlow writes on the periods of tribute collection in Montezuma's empire and adduces evidence in addition to that offered by Long. There are also papers by A. M. Halpern on Maya sounds, by Wilfrido du Solier on Isla de Sacrificios—an interesting note on a little known area—and by Heinrich Berlin on Glyph C. of the Lunar Series at Palenque, which makes an important criticism of Teeple's views.

Miss Isabel Kelly has an extremely interesting paper on a West Coast survival of the ancient Mexican ball game, Linton Satterthwaite, Jr., contributes papers on animal-head feet and a bark-beater in the Middle Usumacinta region and a very

important paper on the date of Stela 14. Piedras Negras, which should be read with Thompson's paper on the same subject. Miss Elsie McDougall writes on a vase from Sanim-taca, Alta Vera Paz.

The series as a whole keeps up a high level of interest and is a most welcome development in Middle American research.

RICHARD C. E. LONG

**Chavin Stone Carving.** By Wendell C. Bennett. *Yale Anthropological Studies* III. Pp. 9. 30 figures. Yale University Press. (London. Humphrey Milford, 1942.) Price 6s.

This pamphlet consists of reproductions of 30 drawings of carvings coming directly or indirectly from the Chavin runs, made by a resident of Chavin de Huantar, with a brief descriptive introduction by Dr. Bennett.

He gives an illuminating account of the carvings, in which

he stresses the importance of feline motives, even in representations of snakes and condors. This view commands assent, except perhaps in the case of the three-digit foot like that in Fig. 3, which seems to owe more to the bird than to the feline. The circular marks on the snake in Fig. 2, which are described as being possibly feline eyes, have also been found on coastal pottery by Rafael Larco Hoyle (see his recent work *Los Cupisniques*), who calls them feline hide-markings, like a leopard's spots.

It would be easier to realize the size of the carvings, which vary vastly in scale, if each were accompanied by a scale in addition to the measurements given in the introduction.

The culture associated with Chavin is gaining increased importance in the early history of Peruvian civilization, and the publication of this addition to our meagre knowledge of it requires no justification.

G. H. S. BUSHNELL

## CORRESPONDENCE

**45** SIR,—In my last article on the *Fertility Rite* (MAN, 1945, 38), I made observations on the marshy condition of the Egyptian Delta, with references to certain classical authorities. May I add to these the following: Thucydides, I, 104 and 110, related the successful opposition to the Persian king of the dwellers in the marshland of Egypt under their king, Amyrtaeus, whose capital, Maraea, was near Pharos, the island off the site on which the later Alexandria was built. This region is still known as Mariout and its shallow reed-bound lake as Marcotis. The author added that the 'marshmen' were the best fighters among the Egyptians; it can hardly be doubted that they constituted the party of Egyptians who are recorded by Herodotus (II, 18—see my article, p. 61, col. 2) as claiming to be Libyans and speaking the Libyan language.

G. D. HORNBLOWER

**Palm Leaves on Boats' Prows in Palestine.** (cf. MAN, 1945, 19. *Illustrated*.)

**46** SIR,—In connection with the article of Mr. James Hornell on 'Palm Leaves on Boats' Prows of 'Gerzian Age,' MAN, 1945, 19, the sketches herewith may be of interest. They were drawn by me after pictures of boats which were found scratched on the limestone walls of the Jewish catacombs in Sheikh Abreik, in the western part of the Yezreel Valley, Valley of Esdraelon, Palestine. Excavations conducted by the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society in 1936-40 unearthed here a veritable Jewish necropolis consisting of a great number of artificial cave burial-places dating from the first to the third centuries C.E., as well as the site of the ancient Jewish town Beth Shearim. The walls of the caves are adorned by engraved pictures, among them pictures of ships, the significance of which is still a puzzle. One of these ships (fig. 1) bears an interesting similarity to the Gerzian

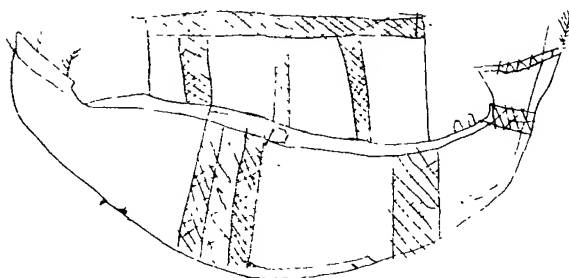


FIG. 1.—CAVE-DRAWING OF A BOAT WITH PALM BRANCHES AT PROW AND STERN: SHEIKH ABREIK, PALESTINE

boat depicted on the plate accompanying Mr. Hornell's article. The Sheikh Abreik boat too carries one single, disproportionately large cabin on its highly concave deck, and

boasts not only of one but of three palm-branches stuck one on its prow (if it really is its prow), and two on its stern.

Still more inexplicable is the oblong perpendicular object stuck on to the stern of the other ship, a sailing-boat, also found at Sheikh Abreik (fig. 2). Is it possible that it is the

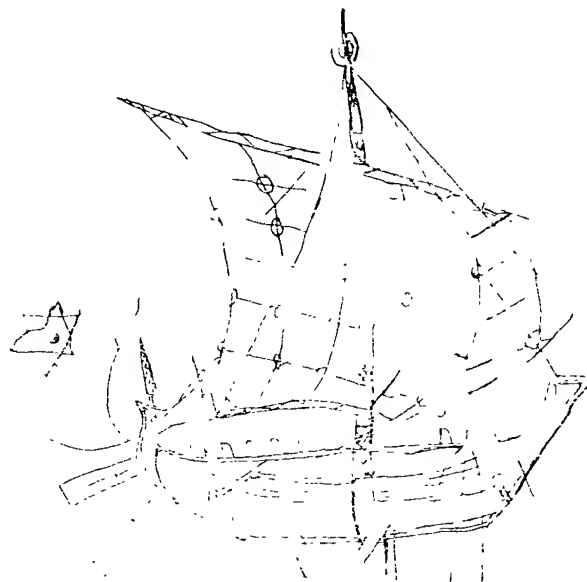


FIG. 2.—CAVE-DRAWING OF A SAILING BOAT: SHEIKH ABREIK, PALESTINE

artist's misrepresentation of a palm branch, just as this was shown by Mr. Hornell to be the case in connection with the Marquesas-Islands canoes?

The two sketches of the boats were printed in my Hebrew book, *Jewish Seafaring in Ancient Times*, published in 1938 by the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society. A short summary of this book (without the illustrations) was printed in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia, July, 1941.

RAPHAEL PATAI

*Jewish Folklore Institute,  
Jerusalem*

**Antiquities of Dominica (Haiti).** *Illustrated*

**47** SIR, Herewith I send photographs of antiquities encountered during my residence in Dominica. They may perhaps elicit comments.

At first I mistrusted the legends of hidden tombs, houses, and stones decorated with 'gold' letters and disappearing

when the discoverer has taken his first look. The unworked stone in fig. 1 must have been brought by man to its present



FIG. 1.—MONUMENTAL STONE, DOMINICA

position. But thinking that behind so much mythology there might be a layer of truth, we went up to the mountains near



FIG. 2 —ROCK-CUT DESIGN FROM A CAVE-SHELTER NEAR CONSTANZA, DOMINICA

Constanza on horseback, then on foot, with the help of bush-knives, and arrived, scratched, mosquito-bitten, and half-dead.

I found in a cave a rather overhanging rock-face, decorated all over with busts and bas-reliefs about 10–40 cm., some few religious symbols, e.g. a 'Greek' cross regularly combined with a double-breasted female bust; and some decorative elements, a kind of meander, and a rhomboid symbol perhaps developed out of that cross. The cave faced west; it was 2–3 m. deep, and 10–12 m. wide, fig. 2.

Other remains—the so-called 'palace'—seemed of little interest. There was no suggestion of classical European style. There were a few clay heads, quite monstrous. One in very soft limestone resembled archaic Etruscan heads.

Friends have brought me photographs of Haitian tombs (fig. 3), little houses which recall second-century Roman



FIG. 3.—HAITIAN TOMBS OF WHITWASHED CLAY

brick tombs. I am told (but cannot make sure), that this type of tomb is frequent in West Africa. These tombs are 1–1.70 m. high, of whitewashed clay. There is great variety of decoration. Some are of two storeys (like the *Via Latina* type in Italy). They have never been entered. I am informed that

- (1) these tomb-houses are designed to prevent the creation of 'zombis', compare the 'vampires' and 'vrykolakas' of south-eastern Europe. According to a popular belief of the Haitians, a dead person can be re-evoked to life, becoming almost his old self again, but without any will-power, and thus bound to serve, as a kind of 'robot,' the man who called him up from the grave;
- (2) The tomb-type may be derived from local timber-built houses, the elementary construction of which resembles them;
- (3) the burial ground may be either consecrated, or not.

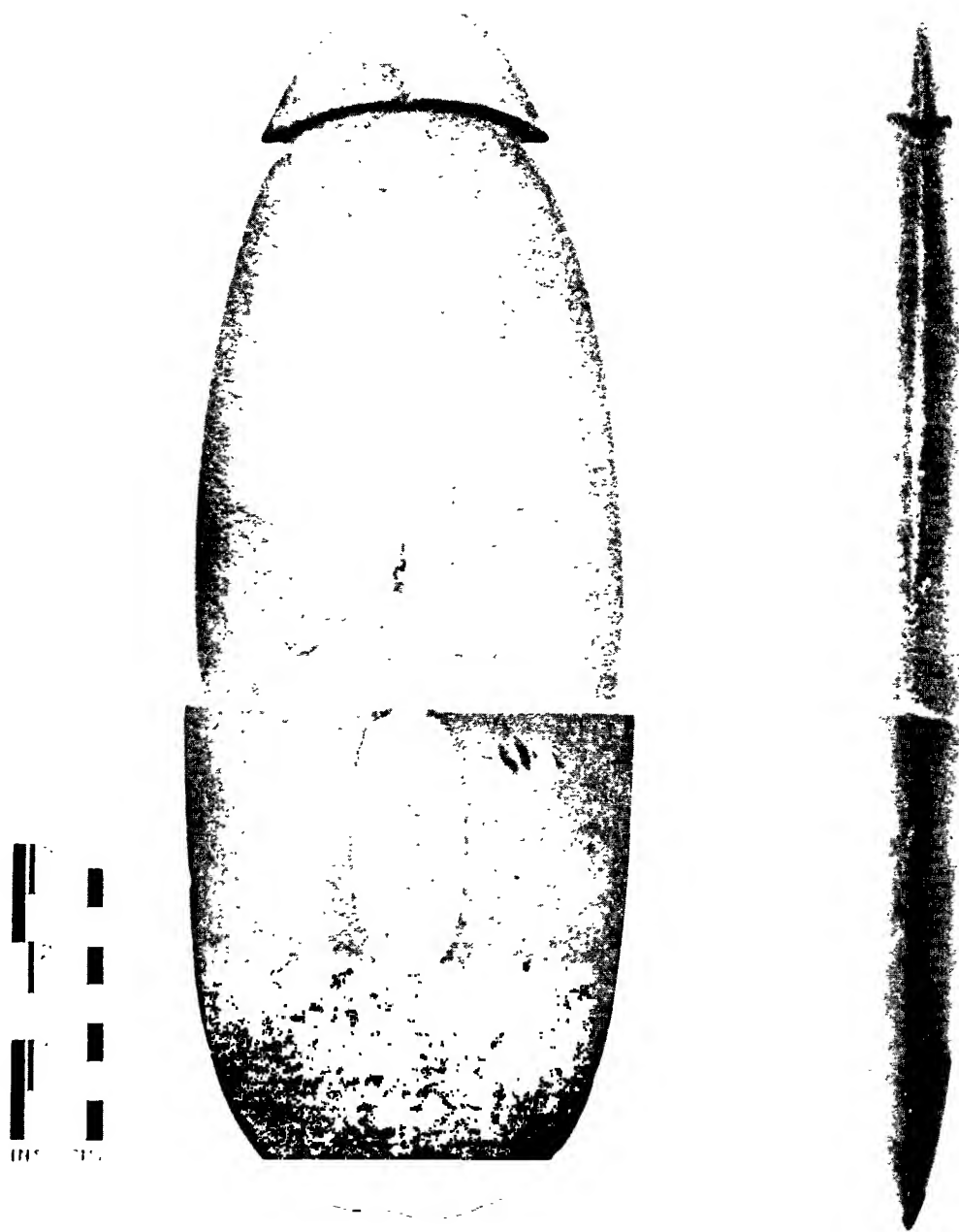
ERWIN WALTER PALM

[On this communication Mr. H. J. Braunholtz makes the following notes: 'It is difficult to form an opinion of the interest of these discoveries without fuller description, drawings or photographs. I cannot diagnose the style of the bas-reliefs in the cave, but they do not sound to me like aboriginal ("Tauman") work. I have never heard of busts engraved on rock. The early Carib and Arawak inhabitants of the West Indies had a very distinctive style of carving, which was done both in stone and in hard wood, and one occasionally finds a kind of meander pattern, but not, to my knowledge, a Greek-cross.

The site might be worth further investigation and record, especially from the point of view of occupation-remains, which Dr. Palm does not mention.

The 'monstrous' clay heads are probably from vases; but here again one cannot judge them without illustrations. Evidently Dr. Palm has little sympathy for aboriginal 'American work.']





## WURO DAUDU

*a*

*b*

CEREMONIAL POLISHED AXE FROM WURO DAUDU (*a*) FRONT VIEW; (*b*) SIDE VIEW

# MAN

A RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE  
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## ORIGINAL ARTICLES

**ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES FROM NORTHERN NIGERIA.** *By Bernard Fagg. The substance of a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on 31 October, 1944. With Plate C and illustrations*

**48** The short account here given of archæological discovery in Northern Nigeria will, I am sure, seem inadequate and incomplete, for as an A.D.O. in war-time I have little leisure for archæological field-work or reading; but I cannot discover that any such collation has been attempted or published in recent years, and it will have been worth while if it prompts others to fill in the gaps from their own knowledge. The views expressed are, of course, personal and unofficial and are written purely from the point of view of an archæologist.

I am not aware that any systematic excavation of prehistoric sites has taken place in Northern Nigeria. But many valuable though isolated finds have been made in the course of mining operations or by touring officials, and many of these are very suggestive of what to expect as archæological research develops.

The development of the tin mines in the Bauchi Plateau from about 1909 onwards soon led to the discovery of stone implements and pottery in the alluvial deposits where the tin-stone is concentrated.

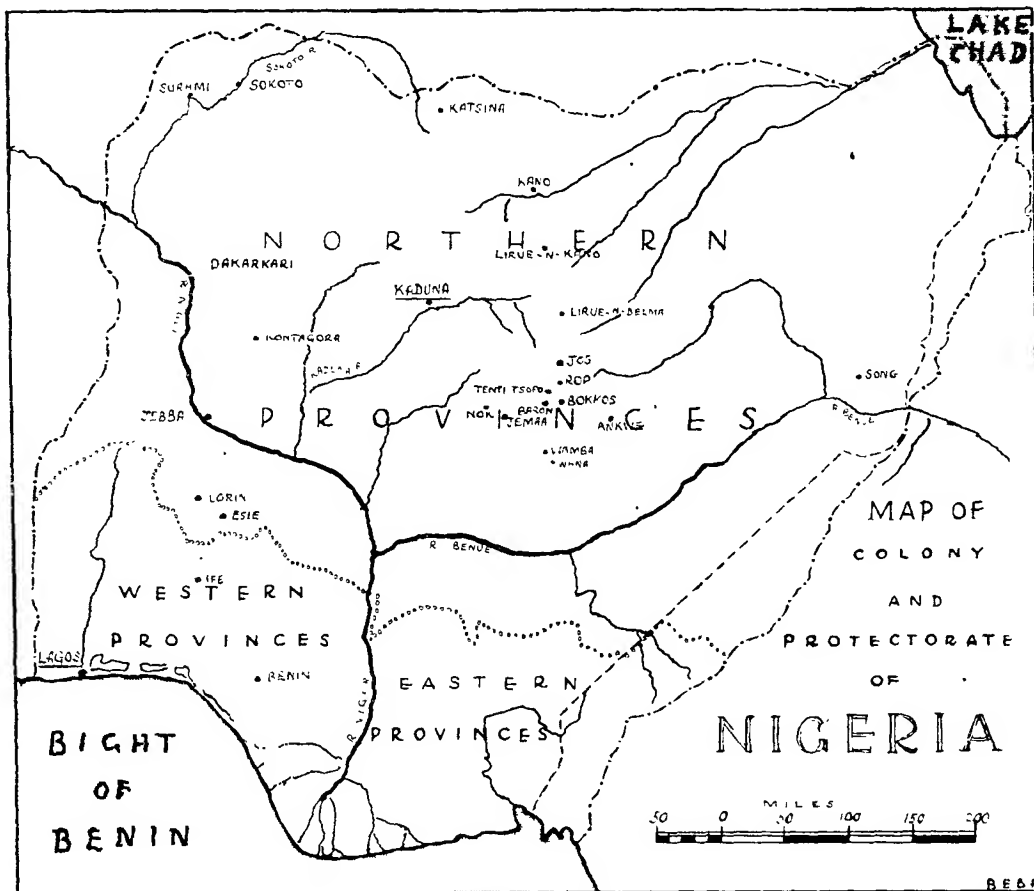


FIG. 1.—MAP OF THE COLONY AND PROTECTORATE OF NIGERIA

Mr. E. A. Langslow Cock, as Chief Inspector of Mines, took a great interest in the finds, and established a small museum at Jos to house the specimens.<sup>1</sup> Though also for geological specimens, this museum maintained for years its anthropological and archaeological section. Three times in its history small buildings have been allocated for housing the museum only to be taken over as offices when accommodation became deficient. During these vicissitudes some specimens were inevitably lost or damaged. Last year my wife and I obtained permission to work on the museum collection. All the specimens were marked, catalogued (and the stone age collection photographed), repacked and stored to await a more permanent home.

For many years one of the chief contributors to this museum was Mr. A. Stanley Williams, who found quantities of specimens at his mines at Jos and

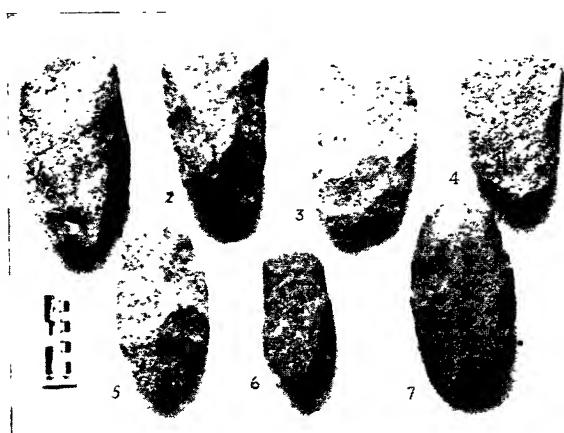


FIG. 2.—PALEOLITHIC FLAKED IMPLEMENTS. *Jos Museum*

elsewhere. Many of the miners (notably Lt.-Col. J. Dent Young, Major E. W. Byrde, Messrs. F. H. Cothay, R. Cope Morgan and A. C. Tarbutt) became enthusiastic collectors, and a large proportion of the finds were brought home to England and presented to local museums, or in some cases to the British Museum, to which the principal donors were Mr. Falconer, the Government Geologist, and Mr. A. Stanley Williams. The scientific importance of such finds is, of course, limited by the absence of associated evidence, for the evidence of the depth at which specimens were found, which has been recorded in some cases, is, in Nigeria, of little intrinsic value as a criterion of age.

Among these finds are a number of stone implements of undoubted palaeolithic type, discovered in the alluvial deposits of the Bauchi Plateau. They include hand-axes of Abbevillian and Acheulian type, cleavers<sup>2</sup> (fig. 2), tortoise cores and flake implements

displaying Levallois technique of manufacture. Unfortunately typology and 'weathering' or decomposition are the only evidence available for the dating of the deposits in which they were found. Although it is thought that there have been at least three river systems in the Plateau which have concentrated the tin, no real attempt at the correlation of these gravels has yet been made. The absence of fauna has made the problem more difficult. The only surviving organic matter appears to be some semi-carbonised trees, specimens of which I hope to send for examination. In 1926 Mr. Brauholtz described some of these palaeolithic and neolithic implements from the Bauchi Plateau in an occasional paper of the Nigerian Geological Survey.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the stone implements so far recovered are neolithic specimens (for example, Pl. C, and figs. 3, 4), a considerable collection of which has recently been made by Mr. J. L. Vitoria. There is even the case of a polished axe being found still attached to its wooden haft by leather binding, at a depth of 18 feet in a mine at Kassa in the centre of the Plateau. But this remarkable find has, I am told, been lost. There is an abundance of neolithic specimens<sup>4</sup> from most parts of Northern Nigeria. Polished axes are commonly believed (as in the Gold Coast and elsewhere) to be thunderbolts,<sup>5</sup> and are valued as magical objects among many of the pagan tribes. They are said to be used even now by some of the Plateau pagans for hacking off branches of the sacred trees which are protected by tabu against the use of metal. Neolithic axes vary in size from small chisel types (some only 1 inch in length)<sup>6</sup> to large axes or adzes (about 9 inches long), some of which may well have been used as hoes. There is a remarkably fine specimen, apparently phallic in shape, which was very probably a ceremonial hoe (Plate C).<sup>7</sup> \* It was lent to the Jos museum by the Lamido of Adamawa, in whose possession is another similar specimen. There are two even larger pieces (see fig. 4), about two feet long and 4 inches thick, resembling neolithic axes in shape.<sup>8</sup> It is difficult to see how such pieces could have been utilized, though Dr. Raymond Firth has informed me (on the authority of the late Mr. Elsdon Best) that equally large stone tools of an adze type appear to have been used formerly for tree felling by the Maori of New Zealand: they were hafted on a stout pole and swung against the trunk by several men. Many of the Nigerian specimens show evidence

\* It was found, with another similar specimen, under 6 feet of deposit near the river Kilenge at Wuro Daudu in Song district of Adamawa Province. The lower or blade end is highly polished, the remainder of the stone being fashioned by a delicate 'pocking' technique. Apparently not utilized, this remarkably well made implement could hardly have been intended for ordinary use.

of having been sharpened down from larger axes, and often have remarkably sharp and durable edges. The material is usually a local hard rock, such as basalt. Sometimes metal forms seem to have been copied in stone. A single tanged or barbed spear point ( $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches long), perhaps suggesting contact with N. Africa, was found in the remote hills of the plateau.

Microlithic implements have been found in some places on the surface, and a small collection from

finds. In May, 1944, my wife and I were able in three weeks' local leave to make a start in this research by excavating a rock shelter at Rop in the centre of the Bauchi Plateau.<sup>11</sup> Though the results are as yet by no means complete, the industry seems to be predominantly microlithic, with some associated neolithic specimens and a rich pottery assemblage. The presence of human skeletal material (the fragmentary remains of a crouched burial) in the floor and con-

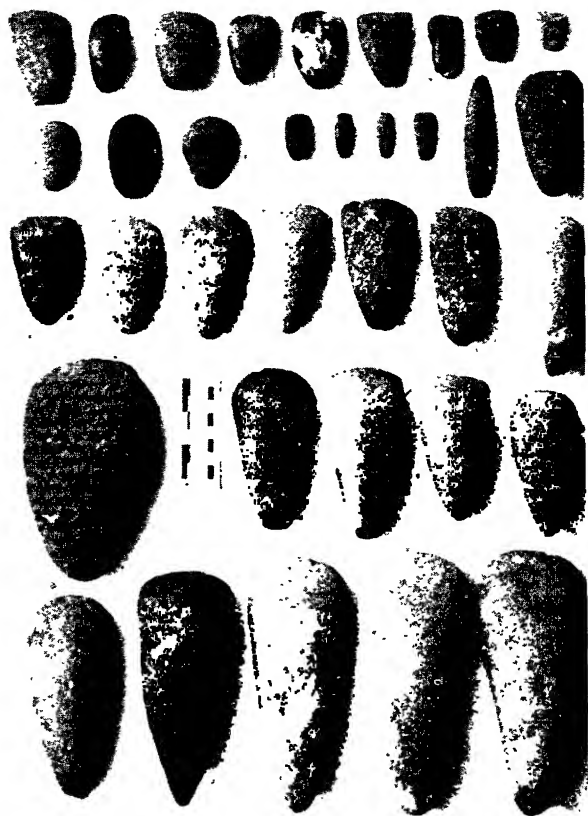


FIG. 3.—NEOLITHIC POLISHED AXES, SOME FOUND ON THE SURFACE, OTHERS IN ALLUVIAL DEPOSITS WHOSE AGE IS NOT YET KNOWN

*Jos Museum*

Wana (south of the Plateau) was presented some years ago to the British Museum by the Rev. I. D. Hepburn.<sup>9</sup> In 1940 I found many specimens in scattered places, especially at Bokkos in Plateau Province. They seem to occur in most parts of the country. Bored stones, rubbers, querns and spherical stones frequently occur, but there is no evidence of their antiquity.<sup>10</sup> Sometimes they are associated with pottery.

Systematic excavation alone can throw light on the age and cultural affinities of these various stone age



FIG. 4.—NEOLITHIC AXES FROM GNARKARN, INCLUDING ONE OF THE TWO GIANT SPECIMENS

*Jos Museum*

temporary with the main habitation layer is, I believe, the first such find in Northern Nigeria. There are many other rock shelters in the Plateau and other parts of Nigeria which must contain a wealth of archaeological material.

In addition to the stone age material there have been several other finds of interest in the mine-field. Tin beads as well as tin straws and spirals,<sup>12</sup> have been found in several areas. The representation of a snake in tin was found at Rop, and a small decorated tin lid is in the possession of another enthusiastic



collector, Major E. W. Byrde. The existence of pre-European tin-mining and of a tin-smelting industry<sup>13</sup> is of considerable archaeological interest. Although much of the smelted tin must have found its way to European markets the local tin-working industry must also have been considerable. When more is known of its antiquity it may well be of value in comparative dating of the more recent cultures. In about 1911 the native tin-smelting furnaces at Liruen Delma were shut down by order of the Government

revealed these shafts and galleries, and some relics of this early mining enterprise are in my possession.

Objects made of iron (usually weapons) have come to light often associated with pottery in many parts of the Northern Provinces—usually with little evidence of their age. Frequently severely damaged by rust, these objects have not aroused much interest. Fighting wristlets have been dug up at Zurmi by the late Mr. P. G. Harris,<sup>14</sup> and a hoard of iron rings or bangles—possibly currency—was found at the bottom of a well at Wamba. At Tenti Tsofo on the Plateau a hoard of brass 'manillas' was found at the bottom of a pit by Mr. H. A. J. Rose.

Mr. H. S. W. Edwardes (formerly Resident of Sokoto Province) has told me of several interesting archaeological sites, notably in Sokoto province, and mainly associated with the tradition of Kanta's kingdom which flourished about 400 years ago. There are, near Surami, seven mounds resembling the long and round barrows of Europe, but a trench dug by him yielded nothing except proof that the mounds were artificial. Not far away he made a preliminary examination of a chamber built under the cap of a hill which local tradition associated with Kanta and the burial of his treasure. Meek<sup>15</sup> describes the masonry walls of an ancient city built by Kanta near Surami: it had been investigated by Mr. F. de F. Daniel, who also discovered a hoard of bronze objects not far away at Tumuni, which were diagnosed by the late Sir Hercules Read as having affinities with mediæval bronzes from North Africa.<sup>16</sup> Near Kontagora are to be found quantities of circular stone plugs: Mr. Edwardes found that these were the waste central cores of circular steatite bangles which were then still being made in one village in this area. In 1923 a similar trade was described by Mr. Cardinall from the Gold Coast.<sup>17</sup>

Just south of Lake Chad, in the Dikwa Emirate, Cameroons under British Mandate, and in neighbouring areas of Nigeria, a number of mounds have been reported which local tradition associates with the ancient Sau or Sô people. These remains of old settlements (apparently inhabited at least as late as 1575<sup>18</sup>) have yielded some interesting finds, including large burial pots, circular stone mortars with conical bases (known as 'Sau hats'<sup>19</sup>), cylindrical and oval rubbers or pestles, stone axes and a few metal ornaments. A number of these objects were presented to the British Museum by Mr. G. J. Lethem, in 1923, and by Mr. J. R. Patterson (now Sir John Patterson, Chief Commissioner, Northern Provinces, Nigeria), in 1924.

Meek refers<sup>20</sup> to the finding by Dr. Bronnum of what appeared to him to be important and extensive masonry work between Song and Goila. He recalls that Ibn Said placed the site of the ancient city of

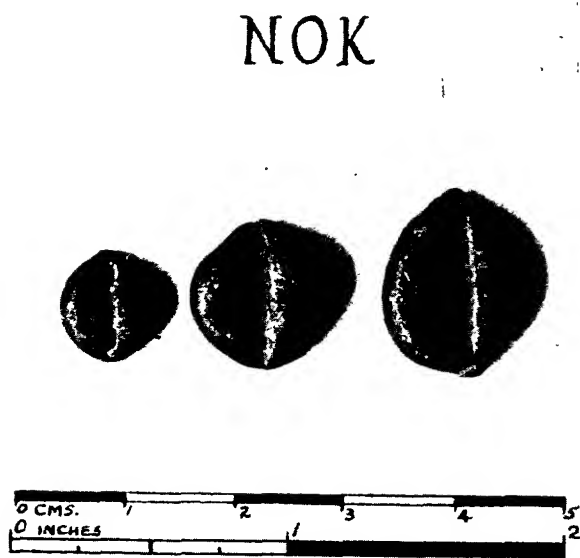


FIG. 5.—THREE ARCHAIC BEADS OF TIN FROM THE TIN-BEARING DEPOSITS AT NOK. THEY SUGGEST THE FORM OF COWRIE SHELLS, WHICH ARE OFTEN PERFORATED AT EACH END AND STRUNG AS BEADS

and the owners and operators paid a life-long pension by the Niger Company. About eight men who know the trade still survive to draw their pension to-day. Before the arrival of British enterprise to exploit the tin deposits, most of the tin recovered by native miners was from surface or near-surface concentrates. At Liruen Kano, however, they had shown great ingenuity in evolving a system of sinking shafts and driving galleries through the tin-bearing gravels. This system is locally called 'loto'-ing, and is still used by European firms under Mines Department supervision. Recent open cast mining at Liruen Kano

Ghana (300-1240 A.D.) in this area. J. N. Justice<sup>21</sup> refers to a pre-historic masonry bridge at Baron on the Plateau. At Bokkos, which promises one day to prove a rich archæological area, I have counted nine such prehistoric bridges of various types of construction. In the wet season raging torrents flow over them without damaging them. They will remain a puzzle until archæological research can determine who were the builders, for the present inhabitants know nothing of them.

A notable feature of many parts of Northern

bronze 'Gabi' figure from Jebba Island on the Middle Niger. Two isolated pottery finds are worth mentioning. In 1929 a pottery figure of a seated woman, about 18 inches high, was described in *Man*.<sup>25</sup> It had been found at Kano during railway construction and was presented to the Newbury Museum. The other is a pottery figure illustrated in Meek's *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, and described as 'Ankwe Household Deity.' These two figures (as Mr. Braunholtz pointed out) show a remarkable similarity of style.

In Dakarkari country have been found many re-

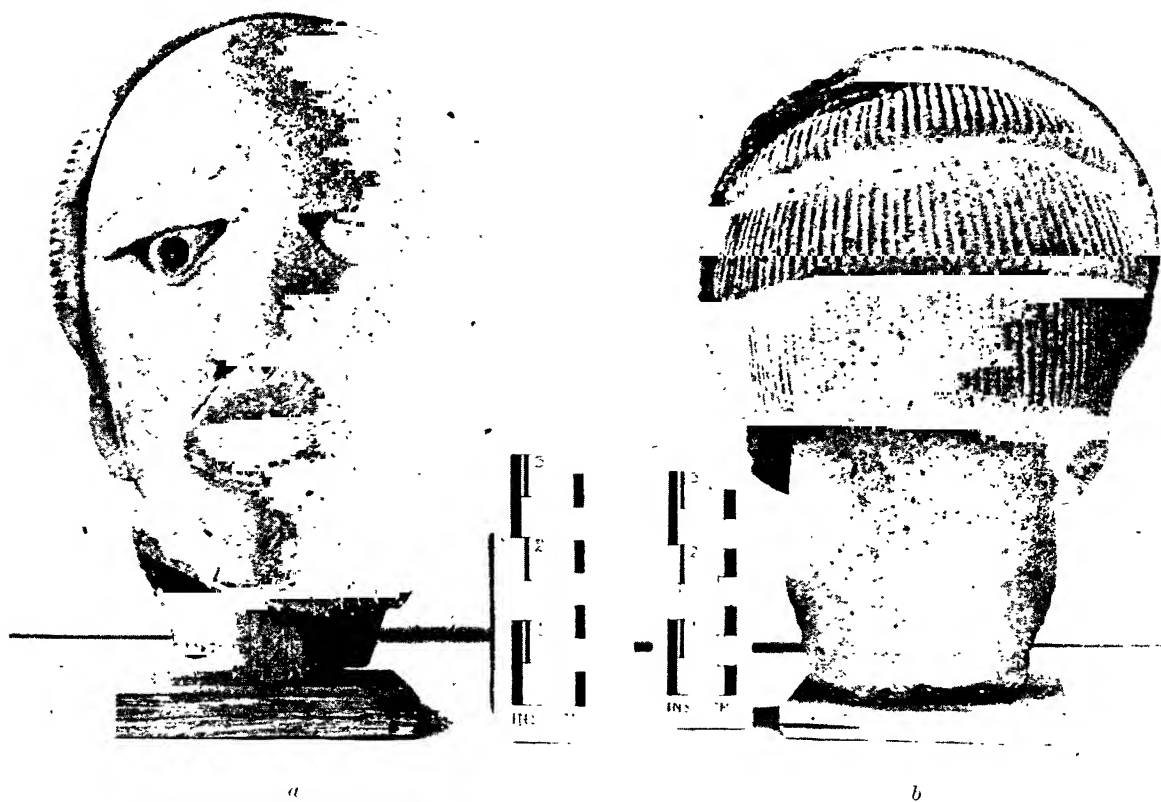


FIG. 6.—POTTERY HEAD FROM NOK: FRONT (a) AND BACK (b) VIEWS

Nigeria is the stone circles,<sup>22</sup> many of which are abandoned hut sites. The larger circles, however, are likely to be relics of fortified hamlets, some of which are still in use in the eastern part of the Plateau. Large stone circles, 5 or 6 feet high, are still built by many tribes round their threshing floors. In Bauchi Province I have noticed derelict walled towns and old habitation sites too numerous to mention.

Of the prehistoric human figures from Northern Nigeria the largest and most important collection was found at Esie, near Ilorin. These fine stone figures have been described by Mr. Daniel in our *Journal*.<sup>23</sup> Sir H. R. Palmer has described<sup>24</sup> the

markable examples of grave pottery. These have been known for many years and were briefly described by Mr. P. G. Harris.<sup>26</sup> Since the war they have received more detailed attention from Mr. R. T. D. Fitzgerald, whose full description of them is to appear in the *Journal*.

A most interesting series of pottery heads,<sup>27</sup> which does not appear to be related to any known culture, has come to light in the area south of the escarpment of the Bauchi Plateau on the borders of Zaria Province and Plateau Province. At Nok, a Jaba village in Zaria Province, five interesting specimens were found 25 feet deep in the alluvial deposit at a tin mine, two

fifteen years ago and three early in 1944. They include a human head, somewhat stylized but skillfully modelled and a representation of a human lower leg and foot, just under natural size and apparently wearing bangles. A naturalistic figure of a monkey's headless body, squatting on a pedestal, and a model of a monkey's head, both about natural size, are remarkably well made. A complete cooking pot with an incised decoration around the neck and some potsherds have also come from the same horizon. All these were collected by Lt.-Col. J. Dent Young.

One really fine human head (fig. 6), just under natural size and beautifully executed, was found at Jemaa, about 24 miles from Nok, and inside Plateau Province. This figure seems, technically and stylistically, to have a cultural relationship to those from Nok. It was collected by Mr. F. H. Townend and is at present in my possession.

I hope that this short account will have given some idea of the vast and varied field of opportunity that lies open before us in Northern Nigeria. There is something there for all archaeological tastes, from the lower palaeolithic to the walled towns of fifty years ago.

But the opportunity is also a heavy responsibility. In the first place, the buried archaeological material of Northern Nigeria, is, in part at least, a wasting asset, no less than the archaeological riches which lie a few feet below the ground of the city of London: the draglines of the tin industry and the natural action of the rivers and the elements are removing the evidence as effectively as will the builders of the new London, and it is up to us to rescue all that we can. Unfortunately it is the earliest relics that tend to suffer worst in this process of destruction, and it may be, therefore, that we ought to concentrate our first efforts on preserving the traces of the old Stone Age.

But it is not on archaeologists alone that the responsibility lies of furthering the work of discovery and preservation, though they must certainly point the way. It lies also on the mining companies and the individual miners, the Government and its officials, and increasingly, we may hope, on the Africans themselves. We must urge all these people to realize more clearly than most of them do at present that archaeology is in Northern Nigeria, as elsewhere, the responsibility of the whole community and that the prehistoric materials buried there can serve the same political and social purpose that two thousand years of history do in this country. This social function of archaeological research is very well stated by Mr. A. J. Arkell in a recent memorandum to the West African Higher Education Commission on 'Archaeological Research in West Africa.'<sup>28</sup>

He says:

'The average educated modern African is interested only in the present and particularly in material progress:

as is the average European from whom he takes his cue. Thus the politically minded African, with the mental instability of adolescence, is often dangerously impatient to try to attain in his own lifetime a utopia where, freed from foreign restraint, he can enjoy unlimited power and wealth. The revelation that his land has had a long history, that it has in the past perhaps more than once been in the main stream of civilization before falling into the backwater in which it finds itself to-day, can undoubtedly give an educated African a sense of proportion and balance which I know no other way of inculcating and is—judged by practical short-term standards—the main justification for facilitating archaeological research in Africa in these difficult days. I would indeed go further and say that it is a reason why research *MUST* be carried out and its findings interpreted to the educated African before it is too late. If it is delayed too long there is a danger of the African intelligentsia becoming irrevocably alienated from us, their foster parents, whose duty it is to help them to fit into that community of nations which alone offers hope for the future of civilization.'

In fairness it should be said that many of the native rulers in Northern Nigeria already have a keen interest in the antiquities of their own land. Many of them keep what almost amount to small museums of the heirlooms of the men of old. Though these naturally tend to consist of mediæval arms and armour, interesting archaeological finds do quite often find their way into them. The interest of the Emirs and Chiefs in history, though it tends to be uncritical under the influence of Islam, is nevertheless deep-seated. Furthermore, the Government of Nigeria has recently recognized the need for official action by the appointment, in 1943, of an Antiquities Officer for Nigeria, Mr. K. C. Murray.

But propaganda to make generally understood the need for care and interest in order to avoid unnecessary loss of archaeological material must be accompanied by adequate provision for its storage and use when once discovered. It cannot be said that any such provision exists at the present time, and the museum, or embryonic museum, at Jos, in the centre of the most archaeologically fertile region in Northern Nigeria is, so far as I know, the best yet attained. If the Museums are to serve the people, as they surely should, then they must evolve locally, among and out of the people whose pride and confidence in themselves and their culture they can do so much to foster and to confirm. Good use might well be made in this connexion of the private museums kept by some of the Emirs and also of such small school museums as already exist.

Local museums (which should, of course, contain ethnographical<sup>29</sup> as well as archaeological collections) will be needed in all large towns and provincial centres

and at important sites, and there might also be a central museum for the Northern Provinces, but we must beware of any excessive centralization, which might effectively deprive the greater part of the population of the very objects which are of most concern to them. In saying this, I do not mean to advocate any narrow policy of retaining all specimens in the country of origin: next in importance after the interests of the inhabitants comes the need for arousing the interest of the outside world, and especially those parts of it which have responsibilities towards the people concerned. Selected specimens and type series might and should, wherever possible, be sent to Lagos, Achimota and Dakar, to London and to Oxford and Cambridge, not grudgingly but with pride. By such means as these archaeology and archaeological museums can, I believe, help the African to stand in the role of a self-assured partner in association with us, and not merely as our ward in trusteeship, imitating too uncritically the superficial attributes of our alien culture.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Among the donors of specimens not otherwise mentioned in this paper are the following: Messrs. Chde Allen, A. J. Anderson, S. E. Birch, F. O. D. Bourke, Mrs. Stanley Carpenter, Messrs. T. G. Field, C. Fison, C. Gaved, W. Hammond, J. B. S. Henderson, A. E. Horn, the Reverend A. S. Judd, Messrs. R. M. Kateley and Leach, Mrs. A. Liddiard-Stark, Messrs. F. H. Lush, C. W. Michie, J. H. Mullis, G. de Paravicini, J. W. Pedder, D. R. Pengilly, F. Powell, M. Rodier, Messrs. Rumbold and Company, Messrs. Fairfax Scott, H. M. Scruby, D. J. Tollemache, C. H. Trezise, C. F. Trousdell, T. Weir and J. West.

<sup>2</sup> *Man*, 1934, 25, H. Balfour, 'Occurrence of Cleavers of Lower Palaeolithic Type in Northern Nigeria.' See also Fig. 2, of the present paper.

<sup>3</sup> *Geological Survey of Nigeria, Occasional Paper No. 4*, 1926, H. J. Braunnholtz, 'Stone Implements of Palaeolithic and Neolithic Types from Nigeria.'

<sup>4</sup> *Man*, 1919, 56, Reginald A. Smith, 'Recent Finds of the Stone Age in Africa.'

*Journal of the Royal African Society*, XII, no. xlv, 1912-13, H. Balfour, 'Notes on a Collection of Ancient Stone Implements from Ejura, Ashanti,' pp. 3 and 14-15; referring to a

collection of 'celts' made in Bauchi Plateau by Major A. J. N. Tremearne.

<sup>5</sup> *Man*, 1903, 103, P. M. Dwyer, 'On the Thunderstones of Nigeria.'

<sup>6</sup> A large series, found on the surface in Zaria Province, was presented to the British Museum in 1919, by Mr. M. P. Porch: see *Geological Survey of Nigeria, Occasional Paper No. 4*, H. J. Braunnholtz, 'Stone Implements, etc.', p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> This specimen was lent to the British Museum, where a plaster cast was made from it.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. F. de F. Daniel informs me that in Benin there are some large polished axes, up to some eighteen inches in length.

<sup>9</sup> Described by Mr. Braunnholtz, *MAN*, 1946, 49.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. British Museum *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections*, 1925, Fig. 174.

<sup>11</sup> A preliminary report on the excavation of the Rop rock shelter appears in the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 1944, pp. 68 and 69, following a full report by Mr. C. T. Shaw on the excavation of a somewhat similar industry at Abetifi, Gold Coast.

<sup>12</sup> *Man*, 1922, 3, J. N. Justice, 'The Ancient Metal Workings in E. Nigeria.' See also Fig. 5 of the present paper.

<sup>13</sup> Described by Mr. A. Trevor Roberts, as quoted in Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, I, pp. 151-55.

<sup>14</sup> *Man*, 1927, 29, C. K. Meek, 'Fighting Wristlets.'

<sup>15</sup> *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, 1925, I, p. 57.

<sup>16</sup> MS. Report in the British Museum.

<sup>17</sup> *Man*, 1923, 106, A. W. Cardmall, 'Stone Armlets in the Gold Coast.'

<sup>18</sup> H. R. Palmer, *The Borno Sahara and Sudan*, 1936, p. 239.

<sup>19</sup> Illustrated in British Museum *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections*, 1925, Fig. 174, p. 191.

<sup>20</sup> *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, I, pp. 57 and 58.

<sup>21</sup> *Man*, 1922, 3, J. N. Justice, 'The Ancient Metal Workings in E. Nigeria.'

<sup>22</sup> Justice, *loc. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> *J.R.A.I.*, LXVII, 1937, F. de F. Daniel, 'The Stone Figures of Ebie, Horn Province, Nigeria,' pp. 43-49.

<sup>24</sup> *Man*, 1931, 261, H. R. Palmer, 'Gabi Figures', *ibid.*, 1934, 193, S. W. Walker, 'Gabi Figures and Edegi, First King of the Nupe.'

<sup>25</sup> *Man*, 1929, 87, H. J. E. Peake and H. J. Braunnholtz, 'Earthenware Figure from Nigeria in the Newbury Museum.'

<sup>26</sup> *J.R.A.I.*, LXVIII, 1938, P. G. Harris, 'Notes on the Dakarkari Peoples of Sokoto Province, Nigeria,' pp. 113-152.

<sup>27</sup> A preliminary report on these heads appeared in *Africa*, XV, No. 1, pp. 21, 22, January, 1945. See also Fig. 6 of the present paper.

<sup>28</sup> *Antiquity*, No. 71 (Sept. 1944), p. 149.

<sup>29</sup> Mr. Daniel has told me that among the many interesting specimens in the museum at Katsina is a collection, made some years ago, of all the tools and implements used in the various trades and crafts practised in the Emirate.

## QUARTZ MICROLITHS FROM WANA, NORTHERN NIGERIA. By H. J. Braunnholtz, M.A., British Museum. Illustrated.

**49** In my paper on stone implements from Nigeria published by the Geological Survey of Nigeria in 1926<sup>1</sup> I suggested that a careful lookout should be kept for microliths, which had not till then been reported from anywhere in Nigeria. In 1931 and again in 1935 small series of unmistakable microlithic tools of quartz and rock crystal were presented to the British Museum by the Rev. I. D. Hepburn, who can thus claim priority as their discoverer. He found them, together with flakes, at Wana, on a rocky plateau, west of the Bauchi Plateau. This site lies due east of Mada station in a region at present inhabited by the Eggon tribe. A selection of ten of

the best specimens is illustrated herewith (fig. 1),<sup>2</sup> and it is perhaps unnecessary to describe them in detail, except to point out that they are all apparently made from flakes worked only on the surface illustrated, the bulbar surface being plain. Some of them (*e.g.* no. 2) show prepared butts or striking platforms. Four of them are points (nos. 1, 2, 3 and 5), of which the first three have finely retouched edges. Two (nos. 7 and 8) are hollow or notched scrapers, the latter being apparently a secondary use of a broken tool with longitudinal flaking. No. 10 is a sub-triangular backed blade with its cutting edge somewhat chipped by use. But the most interesting piece

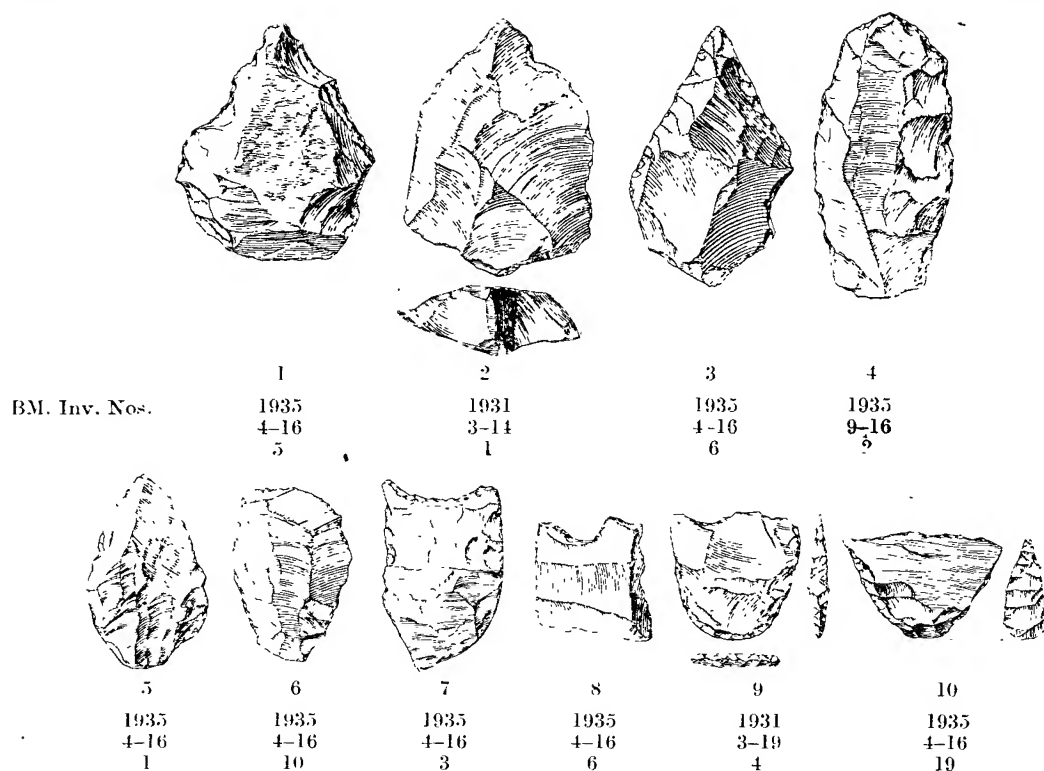


FIG. 1.—QUARTZ MICROLITHS FROM WANA, NORTHERN NIGERIA

is no 9, shaped like an inverted thumbnail, with the sharp edge uppermost. The curved base is beautifully backed by minute alternate flaking from both sides so as to produce a wavy central ridge, as shown in the drawings of the vertical and horizontal cross-sections. So far as I have been able to ascertain this is the only known example of its kind.

It was with the greatest interest that I heard of Mr. Bernard Fagg's recent important discovery of a rich microlithic industry *in situ* in a rock shelter at Rop on the Bauchi Plateau, which may be the source from which these few surface finds were dispersed.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Monod of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire at Dakar has reported the occurrence of microlithic industries in French West Africa and Mr. C. T. Shaw has recently published a report of a similar industry in the Gold Coast, which he excavated.<sup>4</sup> It seems

probable therefore that such industries will eventually be found to have been widespread in West Africa.

This article is intended merely as a footnote to Mr. Fagg's 'Archæological Notes from Northern Nigeria', and to the more detailed report of his discovery which I understand may be expected.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Braunholtz, H. J., *Stone Implements of Palæolithic and Neolithic Types from Nigeria*, Occasional Paper No. 4, Geological Survey of Nigeria, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Registered in the Department of Ethnography under the following numbers respectively: 1935, 4-16, 5; 1931, 3-14, 1; 1935, 4-16, 6, 2, 7, 10, 3, and 4; 1931, 3-14, 6; 1935, 4-16, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Fagg, B., 'Preliminary report on a microlithic industry at Rop rock shelter, Northern Nigeria,' *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 1944, pp. 68, 69.

<sup>4</sup> Shaw, C. T., 'Report on Excavations carried out in the cave known as "Bosunpra" at Abetifi, Kwahu, Gold Coast Colony,' *ibid.*, pp. 1-67.

# ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH: ITS STRATEGY AND TACTICS. By Sir John L. Myres, F.B.A.

**50** All Science is progressive. It is essentially not learning only, but the advancement and the revision of knowledge: and the processes by which knowledge is advanced and revised are collectively research. This is equally true of individuals who advance knowledge independently whether amateurs or professionally, and of all foundations, such as the Universities or the Royal Anthropological Institute

which exist for the promotion of any sort of learning. The collection and maintenance of the records of discovery, in a library, or a journal, are valuable aids to individual and to collaborated research, but an institution which achieved nothing but this would occupy but a secondary place in its science. More direct participation in the advancement of knowledge results from opportunities of conference and discus-

sion, whether what is then exchanged between its members is recorded or not. But immediate contribution is achieved only when collectively, or by facilities offered to individuals, research is promoted as the direct outcome of subsidies or other corporate action designed to remove obstacles or obtain facilities beyond the reach of individual enquirers. Here, and here only, may an institution be said to advance knowledge, by positive corporate acts. It is therefore proper, from time to time, to review the various activities of any Institute, and to enquire what, if any, are the hindrances to them; how these may be removed; and how this advancement of knowledge may be promoted.

A valuable contribution to such enquiry, in the adjacent department of medical research, is a paper read by Dr. F. M. R. Walshe before the Society of British Neurological Surgeons, on 1 August, 1942, and printed in the *British Medical Journal* of 17 April, 1943. Though primarily addressed to neurologists, and mainly illustrated from their researches, its argument and conclusions are widely general, and especially applicable to research in all branches of anthropology. It may therefore serve as a text for such a review of current anthropological practice, and an occasion for suggestions.

Unlike medical research, anthropology has not hitherto been recognized as subserving wide practical ends, though it begins to be evident, as its contributions to knowledge accumulate, that it has such practical applications in technology and in the social sciences. Opportunities for collaborated or intensive research in anthropology have therefore been austere, limited, or have been directed to objects so limited and special that their anthropological bearings are overlooked, and even disclaimed. This is especially true of archaeological enquiries, where material for anthropological study, such as human remains, and the less artistic kinds of pottery were disregarded as by-products till Flinders Petrie and a few other pioneers of modern method appreciated their value, and applied what may be described as laboratory methods to supplement the 'first-aid' procedure of earlier field-work.

With the increase and growing diversity of material, and with belated provision for storage and study, there has been an appreciably larger number of aspirants to anthropological research. Indeed, but for the dearth of endowments, there might well be rather more than could be set to serious work. And here we come to the first positive consideration and a requirement, not always fulfilled. Very few of the persons actually engaged in anthropological work were specifically trained for it; some have very inadequate acquaintance with scientific method and practice. In the early days of any enquiry this is inevitable;

and in anthropology all the pioneers were amateurs. Lubbock was a banker, Tylor in commerce, John Evans a manufacturer, Pitt Rivers an army officer, Prestwich a wine-merchant; all 'busy men' and representatives of a large class of British pioneers in Victorian advancement of learning. What distinguished them among their contemporaries, and from many who have tried to follow them, was not their academic proficiency, but their 'unresting contemplation of the facts of observation'; they were among the men who 'see their problem in essence before they proceed to tackle it; who know how to ask the experimental questions best calculated to elicit from Nature the relevant answers; who not only add new facts to store but see their significance and can embody them in the ordered knowledge which is science.' They are 'the strategists of research.'

Most of these, in anthropology, had neither the leisure nor the encouragement to teach: Tylor alone, late in life, was called to an almost honorary post at Oxford, saddled with irrelevant administrative duties, which however gave him the opportunity of attracting Pitt Rivers' great collection to the University. Tylor had a peculiar gift for inspiring younger men, though his contacts with University students were hampered by local conditions; but all these pioneers are remembered for their generous encouragement, and skill to recognize promise. But opportunities and equipment for formal training hardly existed. Flinders Petrie was the first to make a virtue of necessity: to turn an excavation camp into a training ground, and his store-room into a laboratory, and to insist on wide basic training in general science. Haddon's expedition to Torres Strait was another experiment in the same direction. 'Given such leaders, research of the first order will flourish, however scanty the material resources available, however negligible the organization from without'; for 'it is round the man and not round the place that the wheels of research revolve most rapidly.'

All the more reason, however, for 'sound ideas as to a strategy and tactics of research; for familiarity with what has already been accomplished, and for some discernment as to where it is probably leading; what lines of approach offer the best hopes of success, and when to abandon any given line and start afresh.' This last point is perhaps best illustrated where there has been most opportunity for organized research, namely, in archaeology. Here, for various reasons—personal predilection of wealthy patrons, literary renown of certain sites, and inadequate prospecting—there has been some waste of resources. It is, as has been said, not more digging, but better-directed digging, that is required. To control such observations, the responsible leader in research must

'be able to recast his ideas completely regarding the nature of his problem, should unlooked-for results make this necessary.' Nothing is so easy to find as what you are *not* looking for, and intellectual integrity and clarity are required to sacrifice a provisional hypothesis to the facts. But without this leadership and guidance, though much information may be collected, its orientation in the larger field of related knowledge, and its building-up into a general body of thought seem beyond the vision of the workers. It is not overwhelming testimony, but crucial instances, that demonstrate discoveries. In the early stages of any study there is, indeed, large room for descriptive work, and in anthropology, where so much of the original material is vanishing before we can record it at all, allowance has to be made—and gratefully—to those who have the opportunity to observe and collect, for shortcomings due to inexperience. Often such narrations and descriptions provide, unawares, a missing link in a series, or one of those crucial instances already mentioned.

Much has been done—and still may be done—to direct research in detail, by questionnaires and similar devices. But even the best planned questionnaire is little more than the 'graticule' of a cartographer: it inevitably reflects the compiler's point of view, perhaps even his latent hypothesis: and like cartographers' projections, each differs in its estimate of the relation of fact to fact. If questions produce no answers, it may be for any one of several reasons: inadequate observers, ambiguous or hypothetical questions, faulty analysis by the compiler. Nowhere is 'negative evidence' more fallacious, especially when uncritical compilation exaggerates the 'weight' of copious information on certain other points.

Only constant critical analysis, ruthless and impartial, can perform what Trotter calls the 'sanitary work' of clearing away the 'lumber of unreliable observations and unsupported hypothesis.' After long accumulation of data in the light of earlier theories, there comes a crisis when men's minds change their activities and turn to interpretation and synthesis: for it is not any mere fact that matters, but the crucial facts, and these have sometimes to be rediscovered in the literature, sometimes to be sought afresh in the field. Here too the pioneers had the advantage that they were usually prosperous people, independent of patrons or salaries: they were

also for the most part acquaintances, if not friends: and when differences of opinion were not resolved in discussion, and emerged in print, controversy was as urbane as it was frank. It was a lapse from that tradition that provoked the rebuke, 'I knew you were going to be silly, but I did not think you would be rude.' The temptation to be both increases when controversy serves as an advertisement or a weapon.

While in medical research it is possible to overvalue laboratory experiment as against clinical observation, in anthropology, where clinical work—the direct observation of tribal behaviour for instance—is so rare and difficult, there is risk from psychological analysis, if only because there cannot as a rule be any 'control experiment.' The remedy is critical study of the records of travellers and residents of wide experience, the nearest substitute for clinical observation.

In anthropological studies there are so few paid research posts that the risk of premature and ill-digested publication is less. There is, however, so common an impatience, especially with the younger workers, that men are tempted to throw together compilations from their own, or other people's records, instead of devoting themselves to systematic and critical evaluation. The remedy is learned and sympathetic supervision, not always welcome to those who clamour for 'results' or feel compelled to produce them, but essentially the logical extension of the self-criticism of the directive mind to those whom its originality has inspired.

In a wide, established, and populous subject like medicine there is sometimes the danger that advanced research may be secluded from general practice and even from clinical opportunities. In a small and ill-endowed subject there is a converse risk of seclusion, from an opposite cause, the rarity of workers at all, not to speak of institutions and teams. Here the remedy is that function of an Anthropological Institute with which we began—namely, to offer occasions for conference and discussion, in research committees or study-circles, where facts and experience can be pooled, and informal criticism elicited. Nor are the years wholly wasted which a man gives to professional or academical work, while on occasions he withdraws into his private 'study' and 'school' in the literal sense of those venerable terms. JOHN L. MYRES

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**HEREDITARY SUCCESSION OF SHAIKHS OF SANUSIYA LODGES IN CYRENAICA.** By E. E. Evans-Pritchard, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Anthropology, Cambridge

**51** The Sanusiya order is peculiar among Islamic Sufi orders in several respects, two of which concern this note. It is one of the few orders to have established itself among Arab Bedouin and it

combines sufism of the classical type with Maraboutism

It will be seen from the information recorded that the tendency for the Shaikhship of a lodge to become



hereditary in a family is very marked. In the earliest phase of the order, from 1843 onwards, translations from one lodge to another were common. A Shaikh was sent by the head of the order to found a lodge and when it became established he was sent to a fresh missionary field. However, as the order began to reach the limits of its expansion it became accepted that a tribal lodge, or the lodge of a tribal section, should remain in the hands of one family. So strong were Bedouin feelings on this matter that when a family of *Ikhwan*, as these brothers of the order are called, had become well established in a lodge it would have proved difficult for the head of the order to have introduced a Shaikh from outside it. It was understood that if there was a suitable candidate within the family he would be nominated to the post when it fell vacant. Thus in 1942 it was found that at some lodges, notably at Qafanta and Mirad Mas'ud, there had been disputes going on between members of the Shaikh family about who should be heir to the Shaikhship, it being accepted by all that it should go to one or other of them—a view in which the head of the order, al-Sayyid Muhammad Idris, concurred.

When a tribal lodge passed out of the hands of one family into those of another it was generally found on enquiry that there was a special reason for this. Sometimes the resident family had no eligible candidate, as at Martuba. Sometimes it had been disobedient to the head of the order, as at Taukra. Sometimes the family had died out. This seems to have happened at al-Qasur, for example. The Italo-Sanusi wars (1911-17 and 1923-32) sometimes led to dispersal of these families.

But whereas hereditary succession became customary in the Bedouin, or tribal lodges, it has been, by comparison, lacking in the urban lodges at Banghazi and Darna (that at al-Marj has always been regarded as the lodge of the 'Arafa tribe of the district around it) and in some of the oases. At al-'Arq and al-Libba oases there have been more changes from family to family than is usual, and these oases, in which tribal structure has become obscured by village life, contrast in this respect with those of Jikhara (Zawayya tribe), Aujila (Awajila tribe), and Marada (Zawiya tribe) which are associated with a stronger tribal organization. Al-'Azziyat, at which there has also been much change, is unlike the other lodges in tribal areas in that its adherents are very small nomadic groups, and that it was intended to be less a tribal lodge than a depot attached to Jaghub, the seat of the head of the order. Supplies for the oasis of Jaghub were collected at al-'Azziyat and transported there by camel caravans and it was the centre for the herding and breeding of camels belonging to the order. An Italian document of 1919 says that the order had 500 retainers there and the buildings are

very extensive, more so than would have been the case had it been an ordinary tribal lodge.

The evidence would seem therefore to suggest that *Ikhwan* families tend to become stabilized as lines of hereditary Shaikhs the more easily the more they are associated with tribal structure; and this would be more apparent, were a comparative survey of the tribal lodges to be made. It must suffice here to note that it is precisely in the most powerful, numerous, and integrated tribal sections that we find hereditary transmission of Shaikhship of lodges most accentuated, such as the Bara'asa-Tamia section (al-Baida lodge), the 'Awaqir-Sdaidi section (Msus lodge), and 'Abaidat-Ghaith section (Tart lodge). A Shaikh lineage takes root in the stable and durable conditions of tribal life which are themselves derived from the agnatic principle in lineage structure.

The lodges, where they are tribal institutions, were built by the Bedouin so that they might receive religious instruction and various other benefits and partake of the *baraka*—the virtue which blesses—of al-Sayyid Muhammad bin 'Alī al-Sanusi, the founder of the order. They partook of this through the Shaikhs of their lodges who received their *baraka* direct from the Grand Sanusi or his son al-Mahdi and passed it on to their sons. This *baraka* belongs to the tribe or tribal section which built a lodge just as the *shaukha*, the secular shaikhship of the tribe or tribal section, belongs to it and must be kept in it. In both the continuity of family succession should, unless there are good reasons for acting otherwise, be maintained. Thus each tribal section emphasizes its autonomy in its hereditary line of religious Shaikhs, through whom the *baraka* of the Sayyid is distributed at every major point of the segmentary tribal system, whilst proclaiming its membership of a tribal federation with common allegiance to the head of the order within the theocratic organization of which all the tribes lie.

A consideration of what is involved in hereditary succession to the Shaikhship of lodges of an Islamic order among the Bedouin of North Africa leads us in some small measure to a better understanding of two common features of these Bedouin societies which are not found among the Bedouin of the Arabian Peninsula: the cult called maraboutism and those tribal units with sacred associations which are known as *marabtin bil baraka* or *marabtin al-fatha*. These sacred tribes, attached, with inferior social status, to the great tribes which own the land and water, have always been something of a puzzle.

Tribal adhesion to a lodge, built at the tribe's request and by the tribe, which furthermore endows it with lands, means that the Shaikh families are during their lives not only religious teachers and tribal priests but also arbitrators and representatives of the



tribe in its relations with outsiders. After death, if they have a reputation for piety, rather easily gained in Islam, their tombs are revered as those of saints and are visited by the Bedouin, who sometimes hold annual ceremonies at them, and are held to be sanctuary. Hence sacred families arise, living over the tombs of their saintly forebears from whom they derive their *baraka*. Functions of a political kind and a religious cult thus develop side by side, a combination which produces the phenomenon of maraboutism. The relation of maraboutism to tribal structure is a subject deserving more attention than has been devoted to it.

It also comes about that these *Ikhwan* families become in fact owners in their own right of the lands donated to the order by the tribes and they farm and pasture their private herds there. In course of time they develop into lineages and minor brothers of the order, servants of the lodges, the poor and humble, and refugees who have taken refuge in the lodges attach themselves to these lineages so that small tribal groups come into being. In this manner, prior to Italian occupation, the Sufi order of the Sanusiya began to develop on maraboutist lines and it is suggested that this development was mainly due to the political rôle it was called on to play in the tribal system.

SHAHAT : (1) Mustafa bin Shtaiwi al-Dardafi, (2) Muhammad bin Mustafa (son of no. 1),<sup>1</sup> (3) al-Sanusi bin Muhammad (son of no. 2), (4) Mustafa bin Muhammad (brother of no. 3).

AL-FAYTIDIYA : (1) Isma'il bin Muhammad al-Fazzani, (2) Salih bin Isma'il (son of no. 1), Hamaida bin Salih (son of no. 2).

AL-BAIDA : (1) Muhammad bin Ibrahim al-Ghumari, (2) al-'Alami bin Muhammad (son of no. 1), (3) Hamaida bin al-'Alami (son of no. 2).

AL-HAMAMA : (1) Muhammad al-Susi, (2) al-Sanusi bin Muhammad al-Ghumari, (3) Hadaiwa bin al-Sanusi (son of no. 2).

AL-HANIYA : (1) 'Ali al-'Abdi, (2) Ahmad bin abu al-Qasim al-'Isawi (translated to Banghazi), (3) Ahmad bin Ahmad (son of no. 2), (4) Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Mauhub, (5) Idris bin Ahmad (designate, son of no. 3).

AL-QASRAIN : (1) Muhammad al-'Arabi al-Khattabi, (2) 'Abd al-Qadir bin Muhammad (son of no. 1).

QAFANTA : (1) Muhammad bin al-Mukhtar bin 'Ammur, (2) al-Mukhtar bin Muhammad (translated to Bishara : son of no. 1), (3) Hamaida bin 'Abd al-Qadir bin Muhammad (grandson of no. 1 and nephew of no. 2), (4) al-Sanusi bin Hamaida (son of no. 3).

AL-'ARQUB : (1) Muhammad bin Jum'a al-Jibali, (2) Jaadalla bin Muhammad (son of no. 1), (3) Mustafa bin Jaadalla or Faraj bin Jaadalla (designate, sons of no. 2).

TALMAITHA : (1) Muhammad bin Kalili, (2) al-Amin bin Muhammad (son of no. 1), (3) al-Tawati bin Muhammad (son of no. 1 and brother of no. 2).

MIRAD MAS'UD : (1) Bu Zaid bin Hawa al-Sharif, (2) Muhammad bu Zaid bin Hawa (son of no. 1), (3) Muhammad al-Hashim al-Sharif (son of no. 1 and brother of no. 2), (4) 'Abd al-Qadir al-Hashim al-Sharif (claimant, son of no. 3).

QARABARBI : (1) 'Abdalla al-Kalili, (2) Tahir bin 'Abdalla (son of no. 1), (3) Idris bin 'Abdalla or Muhammad al-Zain bin 'Abdalla (designate, sons of no. 1 and brothers of no. 2).

ANBALU AL-HUWAIZ : (1) Muhammad al-Kalili (translated to Talmaitha), (2) Muhammad Hidaila bin Muhammad (son of no. 1), (3) al-Mahmud bin Muhammad (son of no. 1 and brother of no. 2), (4) Muhammad al-Gharbi (after whom the lodge was abandoned).

TART : (1) al-Mailud bin al-Saddiq al-Ghazzali, (2) 'Abd al-Qadir bin al-Mailud (son of no. 1),<sup>2</sup> (3) Muhammad bin al-Mailud (son of no. 1 and brother of no. 2), (4) 'Ali bin Muhammad (son of no. 3).

MARA : (1) 'Umar bin Muhammad al-Ashhab (translated to Msus), (2) Ahmad bu Saif, (3) Ahmad bin-Idris bin 'Umar (son of no. 1 ; translated to al-Naufiliya), (4) 'Abdalla bin Ahmad (son of no. 2), (5) Hamaid bin 'Abdalla (son of no. 4).

AL-MAKHILI : (1) Husain al-Hilafi, (2) Muhammad bin Husain (son of no. 1), (3) Husain bin Muhammad (son of no. 2).

MARTUBA : (1) al-Martadi bin al-Martadi Farkash (translated to Umm al-Razam), (2) Sa'ad bin al-Martadi (brother of no. 1), (3) 'Abdalla bin Sa'ad (son of no. 2), (4) al-Sharif al-Ghazzali.

UMM HAFAIN : (1) Ahmad bu Faris al-Faituri, (2) Muhammad bin Ahmad (son of no. 1), (3) Sa'ad bin Muhammad (son of no. 2).

KHASHM RZAIQ : (1) 'Abd al-Rahman bin al-'Ajali,<sup>3</sup> (2) 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abd al-Rahman (son of no. 1), (3) al-Mahdi bin 'Abd al-Rahman (son of no. 2).

BISHARA<sup>4</sup> : (1) Muhammad al-'Isir, (2) Yunis al-Masmari, (3) Mukhtar bin 'Ammur, (4) Ihaiya al-'Abaidi, (5) Badr bin al-Martadi Farkash, (6) 'Ali al-Masmari (brother of no. 2), (7) 'Abd al-Qadir bin Badr (son of no. 5), (8) 'Abdalla bin Badr (son of no. 5 and brother of no. 7).

UMM AL-RAZAM. (1) Ahmad bu Faris al-Faituri (translated to Umm Hafain), (2) Muhammad al-Habib bin Jalul (translated to Maraziq), (3) al-Martadi bin al-Martadi Farkash, (4) al-Amin bin al-Martadi (son of no. 3), (5) al-Sarwahi bin al-Amin (son of no. 4).

AL-MARASAS : (1) Salih bin 'Ayyad al-Sharif, (2) Muhammad bin Salih (son of no. 1).

- JANZUR : (1) Husain bin Muhammad al-Ghariani, (2) 'Abdalla bin Husain (son of no. 1), (3) al-Martadi bin Husain (son of no. 1, brother of no. 2), (4) Salih bin al-Martadi (son of no. 3).<sup>5</sup>
- AL-JARFAN : (1) al-Shārif bin Muhammad bin al-'Arabi (translated to Umm Rukba), (2) Muhammad bin al-Shārif (translated to Umm Rukba : son of no. 1), (3) 'Abdalla bin Muhammad (designate to this lodge or to that of Umm Rukba : son of no. 2).
- UMM RUKBA : (1) al-Shārif bin Muhammad al-'Arabi, (2) Muhammad bin al-Shārif (continued to act as Shaikh of al-Jarfān : son of no. 1), 'Abdalla bin Muhammad (designate to this lodge or to that of al-Jarfān : son of no. 2).<sup>6</sup>
- MARAZIQ : (1) al-Habib bin Jalul, (2) Muhammad al-Habib bin Jalul (translated to al-'Azzīyat : son of no. 1), (3) al-Sharif bin Muhammad al-Habib (son of no. 2).
- AL-NAYYAN : (1) al-'Arabi bin Muhammad al-Ghumari, (2) Hamaida bin Muhammad (brother of no. 1).<sup>7</sup>
- DARIANA : (1) Ibrahim bin Ibrahim al-Ghumari, (2) al-Hasan bin Ibrahim (son of no. 1), (3) Hamaida bin al-Hasan (son of no. 2).
- AL-TAILMUN : (1) Mustafa al-Mahjub, (2) 'Ali bin Mustafa (son of no. 1), (3) Hamaida (Muhammad bin Mustafa (son of no. 1 and brother of no. 2)).
- TAUKRA : (1) 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani, (2) al-Tayyib bin 'Abd al-Qadir (son of no. 1 ; replaced by no. 3), (3) 'Abdalla bin 'Abd al-Qadir (son of no. 1, brother of no. 2 ; deposed), (4) 'Abdalla bin 'Umar al-Aujali, (5) 'Abdalla bin 'Abd al-Qadir (returned to office),<sup>8</sup> (6) 'Abd al-Malik bin al-Mauhub, (7) Yunis bin 'Abd al-Malik (son of no. 7).
- MSUS : (1) 'Umar bin Muhammad al-Ashhab, (2) al-Sanusi bin 'Umar (son of no. 1), (3) Hamaida bin al-Sanusi (son of no. 2).
- ASQAFA : (1) Ibrahim bin Ibrahim al-Ghumari (also at Dariana), (2) Muhammad 'Ali bin Ibrahim al-Ghumari (son of no. 1), (3) al-Sanusi bin Muhammad 'Ali (son of no. 2).
- AL-QATAFIYA : (1) 'Abd al-Latif bu Na'as al-Zuwayi, (2) Muhammad al-Zarwali al-Zuwayi (son of no. 1).
- AL-NAUFILIYA : (1) Ahmad bin Idris al-Ashhab, (2) Muhammad 'Ali bin Ahmad bin Idris (son of no. 1).
- BANGHAZI : (1) 'Abd al-Rahim bin Ahmad al-Maghub, (2) Muhammad bin abu al-Qasim al-'Isawi (translated to al-Rujban in Tripolitania), (3) Salih al-'Awwami (went to found a lodge at al-Shauka), (4) Ahmad bin abu al-Qasim (brother of no. 2), (5) 'Abd al-Wahhab bin Muhammad al-Mauhub.
- AL-MARJ : (1) Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Sakkuri, (2) 'Umran bin Muhammad (son of no. 1), (3) Ahmad bin 'Umran (son of no. 2).
- DARNA : (1) Sa'ad al-Hamdi, (2) Ahmad bu Saif (translated to Mara), (3) Muftah Khoja, (4) al-Sanusi al-Ghariani, (5) Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Mauhub, (6) Muftah bu Staita, (7) 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abd al-Rahman al-'Ajali (in charge of the lodge but not formally appointed Shaikh of it).<sup>9</sup>
- UMM SHAKHANAB : (1) Muhammad 'Ali bin 'Ali 'Abd al-Maula,<sup>10</sup> (2) Muhammad 'Abid bin Muhammad 'Ali (son of no. 1).
- AL-QASUR : (1) Sa'ad bin Sa'ad, (2) 'Ali bin Sa'ad (brother of no. 1), (3) Muhammad al-Mabqut al-Tawati, (4) Muhammad Mqarrib, (5) 'Umar al-Mukhtar al-Minifi.<sup>11</sup>
- AL-'AZZIYAT : (1) Muhammad bin Husain al-Hilafi (translated to either al-Shih or Mithnan in Egypt and afterwards to al-Makhili), (2) 'Umar Jalu, (3) Ahmad Khoja, (4) Muhammad bin abu al-Qasim al-Ghumari, (5) al-Amin al-Ghumari (probably brother of no. 4), (6) al-Sanusi al-Jibali, (7) Muhammad al-Habib bin Jalul, (8) Muhammad bin Khalid al-Humri (in charge, not nominated Shaikh).<sup>12</sup>
- AUJILA : (1) Tahir Filali, (2) Muhammad Shumu al-Sannari, (3) Salih bin Shwa' al-Aujili, (4) Muhammad bin Salih (son of no. 3), (5) Muhammad al-Madani al-Tilimsani, (6) 'Ali bin Salih (son of no. 3 and brother of no. 4).
- AL-JIKHARA : (1) Salih bin Hamaid, (2) 'Abd al-Karim bin Salih (son of no. 1), (3) Muhammad 'Ali bin 'Abd al-Karim (son of no. 2).
- MARADA : (1) Muhammad al-Ruwai'i, (2) Sanusi bin Muhammad (son of no. 1), (3) al-Shārif bin Ahmad al-Ghariani, (4) 'Abdalla bin Ahmad (brother of no. 3).
- AL-LIBBA : (1) Muhammad bin al-Shafi'a al-Sannari (translated to al-'Arq), (2) al-Madani al-Tilimsani (translated to Tazirabu), (3) Muhammad bin al-Shafi'a al-Sannari (returned for a short time), (4) 'Abdalla al-Tawati, (5) 'Umar bin 'Abdalla (son of no. 4), (6) 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abdalla (son of no. 4 and brother of no. 5).
- AL-'ARQ : (1) Sidi Sadiq, (2) 'Abd al-Hadi al-Fasi, (3) Sidi Fahayid, (4) Muhammad bin al-Shafi'a al-Sannari (translated to al-Madina and from there to Sirt), (5) 'Abd al-Latif bu Na'as al-Zuwayi (translated to al-Qatafiya), (6) Sanusi bin Jinaina al-Majbari, (7) Muhammad bin Sanusi (son of no. 6), (8) 'Abd al-Hadi bin Rajab al-Majbari.

<sup>5</sup> From 1920 till 1923 Muhammad bin Mustafa was in disgrace for treachery to the Sanusi cause and was replaced by Rafi' bin Badr Farkash.

<sup>6</sup> Hamaida bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-Ghazzali (son of no. 2)

was in charge of the lodge for a few months in 1912, but does not appear to have been appointed Shaikh of it.

<sup>3</sup> In 1919 Yusuf bin al-Ajah (brother of no. 1) was in charge of the lodge for a time but does not appear to have been appointed Shaikh of it.

<sup>4</sup> The order of the early Shaikhs of this lodge is uncertain.

<sup>5</sup> An Italian document of about 1919 says that after the death of 'Abdalla bin Husam al-Gharani his brother al-Tahir for a time took charge of the lodge and was removed by the family for bad administration. The same document says that for a time al-Tayyib bin 'Abdalla (son of no. 2) had charge also.

<sup>6</sup> Succession in this lodge is doubtful. Other persons, of the same lineage as those mentioned in the text, seem to have held office for short periods: Muhammad bin al-Hashim (translated from al-Shih in Egypt), 'Ali bin 'Abdalla bin 'Abd al-Rahman, and very recently Muhammad al-Sharif Mailud (really Shaikh of al-Shih where his father was Shaikh). Some informants gave 'Abdal-Qadr al-Hashim as the founder of the lodge, but it appears more likely that he merely resided there.

<sup>7</sup> al-Nayyan was less an independent lodge than an appendage and store-house to that of al-Baula.

<sup>8</sup> 'Abdalla appears not to have been officially re-stated but to have been accepted by the people as Shaikh. On his death his son Sharif acted as Shaikh for a time but was deposed for pro-Italian activities.

<sup>9</sup> Ahmad bin Saif seems to have been only a very short time at Darna. Al-Samsi al-Gharani was probably only acting for the Shaikh and not officially nominated Shaikh himself. An Italian document of about 1919 gives the founder of the lodge as Muhammad bin Mbaraka and the fourth Shaikh as Ahmad bin Muftah (son of no. 3), who, it says, was translated to al-Azziyat.

<sup>10</sup> According to some informants the lodge was founded by 'Abd al-Rahim bin Ahmad al-Maghribi, Shaikh of Banghazi. An Italian document of about 1919 gives the founder of the lodge as Muhammad bin Mbaraka and the fourth Shaikh as Ahmad bin Muftah (son of no. 3), who, it says, was translated to al-Azziyat.

<sup>11</sup> It is not entirely certain who were the earlier Shaikhs.

<sup>12</sup> The order of the earlier Shaikhs is uncertain.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS

**The Qashgai Tribe of Fars.** *Summary of a Communication by Dr. Oliver Garrod, M.B.E., 29 January, 1946.*

The Qashgai are a nomadic Turkish tribe of about 30,000 families occupying a large part of the province of Fars, in S.W. Persia. Their lands fall within three climatic zones: (1) the 'garnsir' or hot country, between Behbahan and Laristan, where they pass the winter between a level of 2,000 and 3,500 feet and in close proximity to the Gulf; (2) The 'sarhad' or cool country over 6,000 feet, which provides their summer pastures, between Isfahan and Shiraz, from May until September; and (3) an intermediate zone with a 'mutavvil' climate which embraces such important centres as Shiraz and Fuzabad, through which the tribe passes on its bi-annual migrations which are the longest of any tribe in Persia.

Part of the tribe, including the important Shishbuluki and Farsimadan sections, is of Khalaj origin, and probably entered Fars from Khajestan, north of Qum, at some unknown date after the fourteenth century. The tribe achieved solidarity in the reign of Kerim Khan Zand who appointed its first Ilkhan or paramount chief from the Shahlu clan. Since then it has played an important part in the affairs of Fars, in which province it has often achieved a dominant position. In the mid-nineteenth century the Ilkhan of the tribe was also Ilkhan of Fars and controlled what is now the Khanseid confederation of five Arab and Turkish tribes. Under the leadership of the vain and ambitious Ismail Khan, Solat-ud-Doleh, who became Ilkhan early in the present century, the tribe contributed towards bringing about a state of anarchy in Fars and grew rich on its plunder. This culminated in their defeat by the South Persia Rifles in 1918.

They suffered severely under the oppressive measures of the late Reza Shah who succeeded in disarming and settling most of the tribe. During this period many of their flocks and horses perished and their health deteriorated. With the fall of Reza Shah in 1941, they were quick to return and returned to a nomadic life, whilst those of their Khans who had survived long exile escaped and resumed their leadership within the tribe. They have now recovered much of their old position, and at times are semi-independent of the central government.

In appearance they are typical Turks, although their numbers have been swelled in the past by additions of Kuhgali and Bakhtiari Lurs. They are often tall and

well built with many fair types, and in dress follow the fashion of Fars. There has been an almost complete return to tribal costume since the fall of Reza Shah. Their health is very good in comparison with the villagers and townspeople, their chief complaints being malaria, trachoma of the eyes, smallpox, and scabies. They avoid most of the malaria of the 'garnsir' and 'mutavvil' zones by moving in summer to the high uplands; but pass through the tail-end of the autumn season in their downward migration. By religion they are Shiah Moslems, but are far from being fanatical. The Qashgai is strictly monogamous and family life flourishes at a high and dignified level.

Their weavings reach a high standard of art and are noted for their colours and the lustre of their wool, and are marketed under the heading of 'Shiraz'. The finest weavers are the Shishbuluki, Kashkuli, and Bullu sections, of which only the first-mentioned show any real Turcoman influence. In addition to rugs they weave bright-coloured 'ghims' and gay 'jajuns' or tartan blankets, and, in the Darra-shuri section a coarse rug of undyed whites, greys, and blacks called a 'gabeh', also tent-cloth of black goats' hair, tent-bags, saddlebags, and all kinds of trappings.

The Qashgai are famous horsemen and horsebreeders, especially the Darra-shuri section. The horses are mainly of Arab blood and small by our standards, though tough and wary. They are obedient, intelligent, and accustomed to gun-fire and can gallop flat out over the most atrocious country, and pick up a living, if needs be, off the land.

In the families of the Khans, the sons are brought up in the women's quarters until they are circumcised at the age of about seven or eight. This is performed in the presence of the older women and is an occasion for great rejoicing. After this they are handed over to the men for toughening up and instruction in riding and shooting, and begin their schooling.

The marriage celebrations are very colourful and resemble those of the old days in Persia, with a few features of their own. They are held in the camp of the bridegroom and last for a minimum of three days and nights. The dances of the women and the songs of the virgin rice-pounders and of the camel-drivers are a feature of the festivities. The camel-drivers belong to a special section, scattered throughout the tribe, with a language and physiognomy of their own. They have never been studied, and may be of Baluch or gypsy

origin. They are good musicians and their daughters good singers. On the last day the bride is escorted from her camp by a large cavalcade sent out from the camp of the bridegroom, and has a small boy seated behind her saddle to ensure that her firstborn is a son. The bridegroom greets her by throwing an apple or orange at her chest.

The funerals of important persons are marked by a parade of finely caparisoned led horses. The Qashgai laws of inheritance are slightly different from those of strict Mohammedan law, in that nothing is left to the daughters, who remain dependent on their brothers until they are married.

After touching briefly on their superstitions and art of healing, the lecturer concluded by saying that the Qashgai approach the highest level of nomadic life in Persia to-day. The lecture was illustrated by a number of photographs, and examples of Qashgai costume and weaving were shown.

The paper was discussed by Colonel Lomier, Miss Palmer-Smith, Mr. Green, Mr. Livingstone, and Mr. Essex-Cater, and Dr. Garrod replied.

### Anthropology and Adult Education

**53** On February 12, 1946, Rev. P. B. G. Binnall opened a discussion on *Anthropology and Adult Education*. He gave accounts of his experiences chiefly in short term classes of twelve meetings: mainly in villages in Lincolnshire, and urged that the study of man on the broadest lines was not only popular among such groups but was scientifically and practically valuable; the leader might gather precious information on many points of folklore, might learn from genealogies about inheritance of ability, physical strength, and longevity, etc., and about movement of families and range of marriages. Mr. Binnall thought anthropologists could do a great service by taking active interest in work of this kind. Mr. Binnall outlined a syllabus and the President referred to alternative possibilities, as did several members present. It was suggested that the Institute should try to prepare a pamphlet with alternative syllabus and some guidance as to reference works for the use of teachers and students.

### Anthropology and the Missionary. Summary of a Communication by the Rev. H. St. John Evans,<sup>2</sup> M.A.: 4 December, 1945.

**54** The missionary has not been an altogether popular figure in anthropological circles or with travellers and settlers in native territories, though it seems reasonable to suggest that the trader and the government official must share with him the blame for the breakdown of tribal life and the deterioration of individual morality. To-day, at any rate, he is usually anxious to repair any damage which may have been caused by predecessors who were, perhaps, somewhat prejudiced and narrow minded, and to approach his own task in a scientific manner. His aim is not to gain the nominal acceptance of Christianity by pagan peoples, but to try to safeguard, enrich, and ennoble their whole way of life in rapidly changing environment.

Both the missionary and the anthropologist have much to gain from close co-operation. The former should not be content simply to make use of the information discovered by others, but should fit himself to undertake systematic research. From his own personal point of view such study is of real value. It will enable

him to overcome the hardship of loneliness and isolation: it will make his language study far less burdensome: it will help to gain him the confidence of the natives: and it will make him a more telling preacher on the spot and a less boring speaker for the cause of Missions at home. All this is additional to the great flood of light thrown upon the whole problem of the right presentation of Christianity. Anthropology should recognize that the circumstances of the missionary's life make it possible for him to become a useful field-worker. He usually remains for many years among a single tribe, and is often thoroughly acquainted with its language, two matters of first-rate importance. Moreover, he lives, or should live, in closer contact with the native people than other Europeans normally do. Much valuable work has been done in the past by missionaries—e.g. Canon John Roscoe, Archdeacon Basden, Fr. Shropshire, Junod, and Dr. Edwin Smith, to take Africa only—but steps need to be taken to provide both more training and more encouragement.

From the Church's point of view the most important aspect is the help which anthropology can give in the difficult problem of finding the right doctrinal and liturgical presentation of the Faith. 'Everyone proposing to lead his fellow-men to his own faith must first of all know what they believe.' This is essential, both to appreciate their outlook and to discover points of contact. In West Africa, for example, one discovers a bewildering mixture of religious beliefs—a clear faith in a Supreme Deity behind and above all the lesser gods, a powerful Animism, and a far-reaching cult of the ancestors, to say nothing of all kinds of magical practices. All these need to be fully explored if one is to be able both to preserve all that is of permanent value and to emphasize those aspects of Christianity which may appeal to the same instincts. Similarly, on the practical side, the careful study of African religions will make it possible to maintain or adapt many of the traditional ceremonies within the framework of Christianity.

In West Africa, as elsewhere, experiments have been made with regard to various *rites de passage*, dancing, music, harvest cults, and other family or tribal festivals. Generally speaking a 'Catholic' presentation of the Christian Faith appears to be most in accord with the mentality and the social life of the African.

Criticism of this anthropological approach comes, at the present time, from two quarters. Some experienced missionaries, usually educationalists, favour a more or less complete break with the past, on the grounds that the inset course is to replace as soon as possible the disintegrating native cultures by a full and complete Western culture: attempts to conserve or adapt are stigmatized as sentimentality or art-crafty-ness. On the other hand native converts are themselves quick to point out the danger that adaptation of tribal practices may still have, for those who take part in them, such strong pagan associations that they interfere with a real acceptance of Christianity.

Perhaps it is in the moral sphere that the Church, rightly or wrongly, has received the greatest blame. Naturally the missionary is deeply concerned at the moral deterioration only too apparent in many parts: but anthropological study is encouraging here. It suggests that the ultimate source and sanction on questions of morality is public opinion, and the missionary will feel that he is working on the right lines in trying to build up a society in which a healthy public opinion may operate. He also derives some comfort from the discovery that many customs and practices, which he is bound to

deplorable, are simply related to a particular stage in a people's development, and will tend to disappear as his general culture advances.

The paper was discussed by Mr. Achinutu, Dr. E. W. Smith, Mr. Blunt, Professor Ward, Mrs. Culverwell, Mr. Gerson, and Mr. Swanzy. Mr. Evans replied.

## PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES

**Syria as a Link between East and West.** *Summary of the Asia Lecture delivered by Lt.-Col. Sir Leonard Woolley, F.S.A., to the Royal Geographical Society: January, 1946.*

55

Syria occupies a wonderfully central position, ideally situated to serve as a link and history has named for us the people who were the middlemen between those ancient civilizations. The facts are familiar, and surely there can be no question but that the Phœnicians were the earliest middlemen of this far-flung traffic.

The facts are there; and there is of course truth in tradition. But the two are not always related. Before 1200 B.C. the Phœnicians were not an ocean-going people; on the contrary, geography, economics, and politics prove that the Phœnician towns were not designed for and did not live by any such trade.

The coast-line of Syria and Palestine lacks any pronounced features of cape or bay. Sometimes the spurs of the mountain range come right to the coast, but only Carmel makes anything of a headland; nowhere is there a really deep bay.

Phœnician harbour sites were determined by purely coastal factors, not by any consideration of land routes. Obviously each town had to have a hinterland whence it could draw its food supplies. But the landed possessions of the Phœnicians were small and never extended inland beyond the mountains.

It resulted that the Phœnicians were pinned down to the coastal tract. In the interior, the petty kingdoms into which Syria was as a rule split up were conditioned by the geographical features and their extension, and affiliations were from North to South. Thirdly, the main lines of trade could not pass down the coast, but had to keep to the inland route.

Now the cheapest caravan route is that which passes through fewest territories, for each of these will impose payments that eat up the merchants' profit or raise impossibly the price of his goods, as in the Hadramaut to-day. Caravans from Mesopotamia avoided the desert crossing: they followed the Euphrates up to Carchemish and thence turned southwards through Aleppo, Kadesh, and Megiddo. But sometimes the longer route *via* Damascus might be cheaper. Some might find a local market in the Phœnician towns, but never shipped their goods from the Phœnician ports. The Phœnician shippers therefore could not compete with the landbridge for the long-distance transit trade to Egypt.

Some local traffic they certainly had. But in the inland markets the oriental goods and goods imported from Egypt would be consumers' goods, not intended for re-export. The trade with Syria was not the *raison d'être* of their harbours.

Tyre and Sidon and the rest began as fishing villages, of immigrants from the Persian Gulf. What made them prosperous was the lumber trade. The whole mountain belt was a dense forest of cedars. Mesopotamia and Egypt had very little timber and absolutely no hard wood. Exploitation of the cedar forests was what made possible their luxury-building. The Mesopotamian

lumber trade went overland to the Euphrates and then was floated downstream; the Egyptian trade was necessarily by sea, and that was it on which the Phœnician ports grew great. Subsidiary trade there was; all along the Syrian coast, heaps of crushed murex-shells show that not at Tyre alone was produced the red purple dye. But the cedar forests that clothed the mountains and ran down to the sea were what made Phœnicia. In the early days its market looked no further afield than Egypt. The trade was a purely coasting one and with Egypt the voyage ended.

The two things then, the North-by-South overland trade-route through Syria, and the coasting trade in the hands of the Phœnicians, were wholly independent one of the other; but to Egypt they were complementary, and her foreign policy was largely based on this double interest. The long-term policy of Egyptian expansion was to command the trade-route and to promote the flow of cheap goods in both directions. From the time of the earliest Egyptian dynasties the relations between Egypt and the Phœnician kings were friendly and intimate. In no sense did they form a gateway between East and West.

But in the other half of the Syrian coast, northwards from Ruad, there are no familiar names of Phœnician harbour towns. The coast is more inhospitable, crowding to the sea, and in cliffs or rocky ledges wilder and more difficult than the Lebanon. There is no single 'tell' in the whole mountain range.

In the gulf of Iskanderun Mt. Amanus falls back in a bold sweep with flat and fertile coastland. At the south end of this arc is a big 'tell,' the site of Arsus (Rhosus), a very ancient city, the best sheltered spot in the gulf. Farther south, stretches the shallow bay of Sueideia through which the Orontes winds to the sea. A pass leads to the Amk plain, and the river mouth formed a sheltered harbour with a trading port.

Farther south again, behind Lattakia the mountains permit travel westwards to the Middle Orontes. Here is a little sandy cove called the 'White Harbour' Mina-t-el Beda, and the town of Ugarit.

These three harbour towns—very different they are from those of Phœnicia—did not serve the timber trade, but lie at the entrance of passes leading to the interior, and their sites must have been dictated by the interests of trade, not a local one. They were the harbours of an export and import trade between the inland towns and markets overseas.

Of these three sites, Arsus has not yet been touched by the archaeologist. At Al Mina at the mouth of the Orontes erosion has destroyed all early evidence. But inland, beyond the Antioch pass, Tel Atchana—ancient Alalak—capital of a petty kingdom which straddled the exit of the pass was a typical North Syrian city, a vassal state of Aleppo, and was open to all the markets of that world. It could also trade with the West. It tells us therefore as much as the port of entry could have told.

At Ugarit and at its harbour, Mina-t-el-Beida, Dr. Schaeffer has thrown a flood of light upon the problems of North Syria. Whatever its temporary political allegiance its economic horizon remained the same.

The earliest trans-Mediterranean contact of which archaeology has given evidence was between Crete and Egypt, so striking that Sir Arthur Evans postulated an Egyptian settlement in the island under the First Dynasty.

Legend says that Sargon of Akkad, having reached the shores of the Mediterranean took ship and conquered Cyprus. The story implies that the ships and crews were there and that the voyage to Cyprus was familiar to them. Neither at Ugarit nor at Alalak does the archaeological evidence as yet go back so far as the time of Sargon, the Twenty-Fifth Century B.C.

At this time the powerful Twelfth Dynasty of Egypt dominated the North of Syria. Ugarit had statues of Senusret I and Amenemhet III and memorials of Egyptian officials. Alalak if not in Egyptian hands was in alliance with Egypt, seeing that one of its royal house is represented as worshipping an Egyptian god.

At Ugarit, in the Twelfth Dynasty level, is the unmistakable Middle Minoan painted-ware of Crete; and some of the local wares are imitations of the Cretan. The same Middle Minoan pottery has been found in Twelfth Dynasty graves in Egypt. The real Minoan age was yet to come, but the Middle Minoan potsherds may bear witness to a trade initiated by Cretan sailors and carried on by Cretan merchants settled in Ugarit.

Alalak has no examples of Middle Minoan vases. But in the Hyksos period in Egypt and the age of Hammurabf of Babylon we have proof of Cretan connexions of a very different sort. In the palace of Yarim-Lim, King of Alalak in about 1780, there are features which parallel those of the palace of Knossos in the Late Minoan period. And this palace is not a copy of the Cretan; it antedates it by two hundred years. Between 2000 and 1800 B.C. there had been a development of Cretan art which amounts almost to a revolution.

In the next phase—the Seventeenth Century—there is little evidence as yet of Minoan exports to Syria, but plenty to show Syrian contacts with that of the Bronze Age in Cyprus. A Mediterranean culture is indebted for its development to Syria and to the trade passing through the North Syrian ports. The traffic went both ways. Ugarit in the fourteenth century was almost a Late Minoan III colony.

During this period Mycenaean pottery is common in Egypt and Egyptian reliefs portray the bringing of tribute in the form of Mycenaean vessels to the court of Pharaoh. It is of course quite possible that these things came to the Delta ports direct from Crete. On the other hand, the strong Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty dominated the north of Syria. The Keftiu who bring their Mycenaean tribute to Pharaoh may be the Mycenaean colonists of the Ugarit.

Alalak was otherwise orientated. Egyptian control broke down after the death of Thothmes III and the Mitanni of the Northern Jezireh became the city's overlords; then, about 1370, Suppiluliu the Hittite conquered Mitanni. Sculptures show Hittite art thoroughly assimilated. But Mycenaean and so-called 'Cypriote' fabrics were in use; yet there is no real Mycenaean settlement, and Egyptian influence in art is small.

Just after 1200 the invasion of the People of the Sea destroyed Alalak and Ugarit; the Philistines settled in Southern Palestine and a Mycenaean stock on the Phœnician coast. They had the traditions of a great sea power and revolutionized the old Semitic towns. Coastal traders became merchant adventurers. They sailed westwards and founded Carthage; they settled in Sicily; they opened a trading-port at Marseilles and colonized Cartagena in Spain; now, after the 'Fall of

'Troy,' they adopted the role of international freighters; but it is only now that they adopted it.

But their usefulness had its limits. They were in touch with Egypt, in friendly relations with Palestine and Southern Syria. But North Syria was under vassalage to Urartu and later to Assyria, or enjoyed semi-independence under the Syro-Hittite kings. But the trade routes between north and south Syria were closed.

In Cyprus the Phœnicians did not enjoy a monopoly for very long: the Greeks, themselves sea-farers, were their competitors.

Ugarit and Alalak never recovered, but a new town with a new palace rose within a mile of Alalak and at Al Mina, the port of Posideium was for centuries the link between Greece and Asia.

If we accept Greek literary evidence it was not long after the fall of Troy that the port was founded, not by the Syrians but by Greeks from overseas. Certainly by the early eighth century it was a flourishing market. In the seventh century Rhodes is taking part in the trade, then Corinth, then Lesbos and Chios.

In the eighth century North Syria was dominated by the Kingdom of Urartu, so that the new port was in touch with the metal-working industry of Lake Van. This explains an oriental element in early Greek art which had hitherto been a puzzle. In 740 B.C. Assyria became mistress of North Syria but Posideium carried on its business undisturbed, extending its markets eastwards. In the sixth century, the buildings were destroyed, the harbour apparently deserted. Nebuchadnezzar had conquered the whole of Syria down to the South of Palestine; but he did away with the Greek port in the north. If Greeks wanted to trade with Persia they had to do so through controlled areas. All through the Persian wars, Athenian merchants were carrying on business as usual with the Persian Empire through Al Mina.

#### The West China Border Research Society

**56** During the long war with Japan the cost of living in Free China has steadily mounted until it is now more than two thousand times normal. In spite of this fact, and numerous air raids, anthropological research has been carried on in West China with remarkable success. In archaeology there are the excavations of Chou Dynasty sites near Tali Fu, Yunnan Province; of the Wang Chien tomb at Chengtu dated at A.D. 918, and about four hundred Han Dynasty Chinese tombs near Pengshan Hsien, Szechwan Province, by the Academia Sinica. Anthropologists have studied various non-Chinese ethnic groups in Kansu, Kweichow, Yunnan, Sikong, Western Szechwan, and Tibet. There have been many publications in Chinese and in English.

When the attack on Pearl Harbour occurred, the West China Border Research Society had in Shanghai, recently published, Vol. XI which contains fourteen colour plates, and Vol. XII, Series A and Series B. Some of these had been shipped, and all that were shipped were lost. Since then the Society has published, in Chengtu, Vols. XIII, and XIV, Series A and Series B. Vol. XVI, Series A, is now in the press.

Owing to high costs, most scientific societies in China have now temporarily suspended publication. The West China Border Research Society has during the past five years received financial grants, large and small, from the Royal Anthropological Institute, the Royal Asiatic Society, the Royal College of Learned Societies, and the British Council, and from the Sino-American Institute of

Cultural Relations and the State Department of the United States. It now costs more than one million dollars in Chinese currency to publish one journal, so that without these grants publication by the Society would have been greatly curtailed. To-day the *Journal* of the Society has the respect of Chinese scholars so that they are glad to have their articles published in it, with the result that the value of the *Journal* is improved.

The presence in West China of a large proportion of China's scholars has enabled the Society each year to arrange an excellent programme of lectures. Below is the program and the list of officers of the Society for the year 1945-6:

*Programme of Open Meetings, 1945-46: Fields of Force and Chinese Litterer*, Dr. D. S. Dye, West China Union University; *A Chronology of Szechuan Pottery*,

Dr. Cheng Te-k'un, University Museum; *Development of Chinese Painting during the War*, Mr. Michael D. Sullivan, Gmling College; *The Gaining Language*, Dr. Li Fang-kuen, Academia Sinica; *Chinese Border Research during the War*, Professor Hsu Yu-t'ang, Nanking University; *The Yang-ling, Royal Tomb of Wang Chien*, Dr. Feng Han-yi, Provincial Museum; *Some Problems of Pelebotula in China*, Dr. Liu Ch'eng-chao, West China Union University; *Annual Meeting - President's Address*, Dr. William P. Fenn, Nanking University.

*Executive Committee, 1945-46: William P. Fenn, President; Li An-chie, Vice-President; Bram Harland, Treasurer; D. C. Graham and Cheng Te-k'un, Editors, Series A; Liu Ch'eng-chao and D. C. Graham, Editors, Series B; Mrs. D. C. Graham, Librarian; Daniel S. Dye, Member-at-large; Cheng Te-k'un, Secretary.*

## OBITUARY

**Aarne Michael Tallgren**, *February, 1885-13 April, 1945*

**57** Aarne Michael Tallgren was born in February, 1885, and died on 13 April, 1945, so he just lived to receive Vol. XLV of the Finnish Archaeological Society, which was destined for his sixtieth birthday.

He was the best Finnish archaeologist of his generation, carrying on the work of Aspelin and ranging over the whole of Northern Asia. His senior Ahlo had chosen the Stone Age, so it was particularly the succeeding period which attracted Tallgren. After taking his degree he travelled in Europe, Russia, and Siberia. His work on the Bronze Age of North Russia first made sense of that time and place; and his catalogues of the Zaoussavov and Toyostine collections showed the depth and width of his knowledge. For a short while he was Professor of Archaeology at Tartu-Dorpat and

wrote an *Archaeologia Fennica*, then he succeeded to the Chair at Helsinki. Here he began the publication of *Fennica Septentrionalis Antiqua*, in which Vol. II was his own very important *Pontide Pre-segethica*, and nearly every one of the twelve volumes had large contributions from him. He also produced independent works, e.g. an admirable summary of Finnish Archaeology.

In the 'thirties' he visited England, and lectured in London and Cambridge. He was an Honorary Fellow and Medalist of the Society of Antiquaries, and a Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy. Always he was a devoted friend of this country and a dear friend of mine. He was elected an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1929.

ELLIS H. MINNS

## REVIEWS

### RELIGION

**58** 'Contributions à l'étude des divinités celtiques'. By *Prof. Lambrecht, Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Workin* *turn, Vol. 93. The Tempel, Bruges (Belgium), 1942* *outgucken duen de Facultet van de Wysgepoete en Let-* *200 pp., XXIV plates. Price 150 francs.*

This book, published under the unfavourable conditions of the Nazi occupation of Belgium, will nevertheless be valuable, for many years to come, to all those who are interested in the *interpretatio Romana* of Celtic religion. The Buddha god, the Triceps, the god with the Celtic serpent, Taranis, the Jupiter-Giant columns, Sucellus, the divine couples in the country of the Haedui, Mercurius, Mars and Hercules, the Celtic Pantheon, and the characteristics of the Celtic goddesses are carefully treated in an attractive and occasionally novel interpretation. Much Continental material and many recent publications are used which are now only slowly becoming accessible in this country. On the other hand less use is made, due, no doubt, to the peculiar conditions of publication, of Romano-British sources than of the remains of Celtic religion under Roman occupation in France, Holland, Luxembourg, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, and Germany.

For the Rivingham Triceps, now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, the survey in Pauly-Wissowa, *P. E. der Klass. Alt.* art. Mercurius No. 243 should be compared, for a full bibliography, in addition to Lambrechts, pp. 37, 150. The catalogue of Giant columns, pp. 98 f. omits the British monuments of Great Chesterford, Chichester, Hockesey, Cheneester (cp. *Cambridge Antiq. Soc. Proceed.*, XXXVII (1937), pp. 65-6 notes 20-21), and an unpublished 'Vergerotstein' in Lincoln City and County Museum. For Sucellus compare monuments which have been overlooked by

the author in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* art. 'Muttergottheiten' (col. 962-3), 'Nantosuelta,' and 'Ollubus.' Even more important is a Sucellus with a Celtic goddess in relief on a portable altar which is now preserved at University College, Nottingham (*V.C.H. Notts.*, II (1910), p. 35 s.c. Thorpe; E. Oswald, *Assoc. Architect and Archaeol. Soc. Reports and Papers*, XLI, I (1932), pp. 5 f. and plate). This monument which has been neglected hitherto was in fact found in the Roman cemetery of Ad Pontem (Stoke on Trent), and proves therefore finally, with Professors S. Reinach, Linckenheld, and Lambrechts, against the late Professor Keune, that Sucellus, the hammer god of the Celts, must have been a god of cemeteries and death.

Professor Lambrecht's short Appendix on Celtic goddesses is now partly superseded by the excellent article of Dr. E. Philippson, 'Der germanische Mutter- und Matronenkult am "Niedertherm,"' *The Germanic Review*, XIX (1944), pp. 81-142. The instructive new Swiss Corpus by Professors E. Howard and E. Meyer, *Die römische Schweiz, Texte und Inschriften mit Übersetzung* (Zürich, 1940), pp. XVI and 116) provides more Swiss material than was at Professor Lambrecht's disposal.

The book should be revised and republished under peaceful conditions, at any rate the author's labours will be invaluable for the next decade. His book means a step forward on the way to a real picture of Celtic beliefs in Roman times from the contemporary monuments, pre-Roman evidence, Latin civilization, medieval and modern survivals in customs and folklore. No one who intends to treat questions of Celtic religion in Roman times, when Continental material has to be used, will neglect this work with impunity.

P. M. HERCHELHEIM



## INDIA

**The Fortunes of Primitive Tribes.** By D. N. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), published under the direction of The Superintendent, Provincial Census Operations, United Provinces, 1941, for the Lucknow University by Universal Publishers, Ltd., Lucknow, 1944. Pp. vii, 234. Price Rs. 12.

This is the first of a projected series of four volumes of which the author himself writes (p. xviii). In the pages below I have discussed the fortunes of certain primitive tribes in these Provinces, detailing the joys and sorrows of a few representative ones only. In two more volumes I propose to describe the tribal cultures of these Provinces while a fourth will deal with the criminal tribes, their life and interests, in other words the various aspects of "crime culture." The author does not make it clear whether the contents of the present work are to be regarded as definitive or whether they represent merely a preliminary survey of material which will be given in greater detail in the later volumes. In the latter case much of the criticism which follows will appear captious.

The dust-cover of the present book describes Dr. Majumdar as the "chief exponent of functional anthropology in India" but it should be noted that the flavour is that of Benedict and Mead rather than that of either Malinowski or Radcliffe-Brown. In the space of 234 pages the author manages to give a detailed anthropometric and ethnographic survey of no less than four distinct culture groups, namely the Korwas, a dying pre-Dravidian jungle folk living on the northern fringe of the Chota Nagpur plateau, the Tharus, a mongoloid group living close to the south western fringe of Nepal, the Khasas of Jamsar-Bawar, who provide the Brahmin and Rajput castes in the cis-Himalayan region north of Dehra Dun, and finally the migrant Criminal Tribes. These four societies were selected as representative of the principal racial groupings to be found in the United Provinces (p. xvii) and the manner of presentation is designed to emphasize and contrast the different types of social reaction to a common culture-contact situation consequent upon basic differences in the underlying social pattern of the groups concerned. Thus in the account of the Korwas the emphasis is laid upon their failure to make the necessary social adjustments to meet the crisis represented by a Forest Administration which cuts them off from their natural source of food supply and recreation; in contrast the Tharus are pictured as vigorously adaptive to the stresses of social change, while their near neighbours the Khasas have managed to preserve their traditional feudal and polyandrous organization almost unaffected. These contrasts are used to provide material for impressionistic theorizing on the established lines of *Patterns of Culture* and *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*.

Many of the resulting generalizations are highly intriguing, but it should be stressed that on the evidence here presented some of them can only rate as interesting speculations, or even loose thinking. Thus the increasing biological infertility among the Korwas is tentatively attributed on p. 21 to incestuous promiscuity and on p. 214 to loss of "ambition"; the adaptability of the Tharus is attributed, p. 214, to the initiative and dominance of the women and their traditional powers of magic, the respect for which protects the community from the undue pressure of neighbouring groups; the conservative stability of the Khasas is derived, p. 217, from the strength of their superstitious beliefs and rituals, while on p. 172 their system of polyandry is surprisingly suggested as a cause rather than the result of a disbalanced sex-ratio. For those who like their ideas served up ready cooked, this book contains plenty of good fare; indeed on the lines of the old style ethnographic monograph it is a veritable mine of information. But the condensation is too great and there is no basis on which to judge the validity of many of the statements made. Loose generalizations such as those cited above make the sceptic critical of seemingly more solid arguments. Such simplified and over-dramatized analyses of social process do not really do much to further our understanding of the highly complex mechanisms of social change in a culture contact situation. Clearly however, on the evidence presented, each of these groups would well repay

more detailed and intensive study. Particularly, I suggest, would this be the case in the Jamsar-Bawar area where the polyandrous Brahmin Khasas and the landless maternal Doms live side by side in complex symbiotic relationship. From the orthodox functionalist point of view, it is clearly invalid to attempt any generalizations about the one group without a much more thorough analysis of the other than is here presented. The discussion (pp. 159-181) of polyandrous marriage among the Khasas is probably the best thing in the book; but it is obvious that the facts as stated represent only a small part of the significant picture.

The book includes a good deal of anthropometric and blood-group data, the value of which I cannot assess. The ethnographic material though highly condensed and of uneven quality contains plenty of valuable pickings for the students of comparative custom. Numerous photographs are included but reproduction is disappointing.

This study would have been more valuable if the groups selected for contrast had had more in common in the first place, but this very lack of homogeneity in the material merely serves to emphasize the enormous scope of the work available for Indian anthropologists, provided the necessary financial support is forthcoming. Dr. Majumdar is to be congratulated on his initiative in launching this ethnographic survey, and it is sincerely to be hoped that he carries it through to its projected conclusion. E. R. L.

## MISCELLANEOUS

**Chinese Jews: a Compilation of Matters relating to the Jews of K'ai-feng Fu.** By William Charles White, D.D., F.R.S.C., Monograph Series of Chinese Studies No. 1, Parts I-III, Department of Chinese Studies in the University of Toronto and the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto, Canada, 1942. 3 Vols., pp. xii+211, 5 maps, 31 illustrations, xii+184, 29 illustrations, xii+226, 33 illustrations.

The former Bishop of Honan, who is now Professor of Chinese Studies at the University of Toronto and Keeper of the East Asiatic Collection of the Royal Ontario Museum, has presented us with a very learned, thorough, detailed, and well-documented survey of this ancient and lonely outpost of Jewry.

The work is divided into three parts, historical, inscriptional, and genealogical. There is an excellent survey of former publications and authors dealing with the subject, including many quotations from books which are now almost unobtainable. It successfully reconstructs in every detail the ancient synagogue and much of the religious service, though, naturally, we learn very little about the religious ceremonies which orthodox Jews perform at home. Nevertheless we obtain a great deal of valuable information concerning the social status of the community and of the remarkable curricula of some of their prominent members who advanced to high officialdom, passing examinations mainly under the Ming dynasty.

The historical sequence presents an exhaustive array of witnesses, Chinese and European, e.g. Jesuits at the Imperial Court. Each has his story to tell and though there is frequent repetition, each has something new to add since they come from such different walks of life.

The second volume contains full texts and translations of all Chinese and Hebrew inscriptions with ample explanations and commentaries.

The third volume is by far the most original. Here a codex of 106 pages in Hebrew and Chinese from the K'ai-feng synagogue is translated by the author in collaboration with Ronald James Williams. This gives an insight into the genealogy of the community and then different families. As a number of descendants of these clans are still living in K'ai-feng it would have been worth while taking anthropological measurements. Later they could have been compared with those in the Near East and Ben Israel in India.

The work is lavishly prepared and illustrated: presenting reproductions of all documents and monuments, depicting the town with its building and surroundings and contemporary members of the ancient families. O. S.



**The Principles of Tiv.** 1940. Pp. viii, 102. Price 6s.  
**61 A Tiv Reader.** 1940. Pp. vi, 82. Price 6s. **A Dictionary of the Tiv Language.** 1940. Pp. ix, 331. Price 12s. 6d. **A Modern Grammar of Spoken Hausa.** 1941. Pp. vii, 172. Price 6s. **An Introduction to Spoken Hausa and Hausa Reader.** 1940. Pp. viii, 213. Price 14s.

All by Captain R. C. Abraham, published on behalf of the Government of Nigeria by the Crown Agents for the Colonies.

These five books bear witness to the undiminished zeal and speed with which Major Abraham continues his valuable work on the languages of West Africa. The reviewer cannot hope to do more, in limited space, than raise a few points of general principle rather than of detail.

In his *Principles of Tiv* the author points out that no other work exists on the subject. That in itself makes the present work of importance both practically and theoretically. Those who want to learn Tiv for practical purposes will find much help here particularly if they also use the *Tiv Reader*, which supplements the *Principles*. The grading of material in the *Reader* perhaps leaves something to be desired. But that must not obscure the value of producing, as Major Abraham does, not an isolated grammar but a collection of books bearing on the language from different angles and closely inter-related. The third of the Tiv books listed above is the *Dictionary* but there is a fourth which must be mentioned here because of the methodological principle involved.

The author has supplemented his linguistic study of Tiv by an anthropological study, *The Tiv People* (2nd edition, 1940) and fills out his dictionary definitions by reference to this monograph. This, as Malinowski used to say, is the way in which dictionaries should be made. That in this case the monograph is a somewhat incomplete account of the Tiv people does not invalidate the principle of linking a dictionary of a language with a cultural study of the people who speak the language. In this case the dictionary is also linked, by cross references, to the *Principles*, and the grammatical and lexical aspects thus reinforce each other.

Major Abraham's claim that Tiv is a Bantu language depends, of course, for its acceptance on the criterion used. Here one can only say that in the eyes of some, at any rate, of the Bantu experts Tiv would appear to be a Bantu-ized rather than a Bantu language.

In the author's two books on Hausa he is ploughing a less lonely furrow than in Tiv, but none the less a useful one. In both languages he pays great attention to tone and this leads one to wish two things—in the first place that the system of tone notation that he uses were less difficult for the reader, not to grasp but to read, and in the second place that some general agreement could be reached for the tone notation of at least the West African languages. At present there is none.

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**West Indian Summer: A Retrospect.** By James Pope-Hennessy. Batsford, London, 1943. Pp. 117. Price 12s. 6d.

**62** Had Mr. Pope-Hennessy known the West Indian Negro proverb 'Nebber take odder men's eyes for see plain' would he have ventured on *West Indian Summer: a Retrospect*? Within the all too brief space of 117 pages he looks through the eyes of no less than nine travellers whose experiences in these 'Eldorado' islands range from the 16th to the 19th century.

The reader tends to ignore the warning in the author's preface that Cashel, the contemporary and 'central figure of this book is not in intention myself'. The character of 'Cashel—who (we must remind ourselves) is not a self-portrait of Mr. Pope-Hennessy—is delineated chiefly by negatives. He is not a naturalist, nor an anthropologist, nor politically nor socially minded. He is 'languid' and 'diffident' and perennially 'woefully out of place' while the flag of Empire hangs limp on its flagpole. Unlike Sir Robert Dudley, he does not seek 'new worlds for gold, for praise, for glory.' Yet to this self-conscious but self-effacing being it seems we are indebted for the lively selection of travellers' tales and concise commentary.

For one thing we may be grateful that he—the shadowy

Cashel—was not inspired to spout impromptu verses to the Caribbean, though he cannot claim exemption from another inveterate English habit—that of comparing everything noted in these tropic islands to its English counterpart. Even the ominous impression of the primeval forests is tempered for Cashel by the sensation that 'they smelt like a rhododendron shrubbery after rain.' But we are tempted to ask: were there 'primeval forests' in Trinidad in 1939, or 'plants that are infinitely poisonous'?

The book will be appreciated by those who, willing to forego delving for authentic information, are content to be bemused by this medley of memoirs sifted through a singularly discriminating and lucid modern mind. Are the butterflies 'the size of bats'? Whether this is a scientific fact or another 'Froudicacy,' to quote Joseph Acosta, 'still holds mee in suspense.' Mr. Pope-Hennessy does not mention such old-time voyagers as Joseph Acosta (1588 A.D.) with his beguiling prologue:—'When I passed to the Indies, I will tell you what I chanced unto mee.' But he does introduce us to Dr. Hans Sloane, the Duchess of Albemarle's charming physician, who contended that 'sunbeams are too spiritual to be poisonous' and who endeavoured to cure 'Mrs. Fuller who was tormented with Incoherent Fancies at nightfall.' The author's interest is primarily literary, though his historical sense is not lacking. Here we renew acquaintance with those descriptions of the typical annexation of islands for royal sovereigns and those mild, almost arcadian, encounters with original inhabitants that to the grief of the belated anthropologists spelt doom to native culture and, in the case of the Caribs, virtual extinction.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Pope-Hennessy appears to have been out of touch with West Indian Negrodom—a fascinating world indeed, which would have given scope to his powers of vivid description—at least he refrains from recording his personal reminiscences. He refers to Dr. Hans Sloan's assertion that 'the blacks are a very perverse generation of people' and to Anthony Trollope's provocative belief that the future of the islands lay with the 'coloured' races who he considered combined African vitality with European brilliance.

Occasionally the author's use of imagery is evocative and memorable:—blossoms that 'unfold with the speed of a parasol'; 'orchid plants like head hunter's trophies'; pelicans that 'bob solemnly like celluloid toys.'

As might be expected from a writer whose first book, *London Fabric*, won the Hawthornden prize, Mr. Pope-Hennessy, in spite of a certain unevenness of texture in the book as a whole, can write passages of rhythmic and mellifluous prose: 'the formal croton plants turned their polished leaves with indifference to the stars' or again 'Nightjars with crimson eyes, like the eyes of witches, flutter and flop their clumsy wings within the depths of this dim wood.' Not the least delightful feature of the book is the choice of engravings, woodcuts and lithographs. All the forty subjects are appropriate and not a few extremely artistic.

One surmizes that in *West Indian Summer: A Retrospect*, the author has unwittingly proved the truth of the West Indian negro proverb 'Think upon' is better than 'eating done,' remembering is better than realizing.

HAZEL BALLANCE NAPIER

**The Blood Hunters, a narrative of pioneer missionary work among the savages of French Indo-China.** By Gordon Heddlerly Smith, F.R.G.S. World Wide Prayer and Missionary Union, Chicago, 1943.

**63** This little book as its title indicates is more concerned with the propagation of the Gospel than with anthropology, and some of its chapters are primarily concerned with adventures of sport and travel. At the same time there is some useful information in the twenty pages of Chapter 4, called *Characteristics of the Savages*, whom he divides into two categories, 'Indonesian' and 'Malayo-Polynesian,' and there are some good photographs. The author states that recent investigations suggest that the use of tobacco originated in Indo-China, but he gives no reference to any authority for this pronouncement. His Christian estimate of the 'savages' with whom he deals may be gathered from his description of them as 'inordinately selfish' and his conclusion that they 'only speak the truth by accident.'

J. H. H.

## CORRESPONDENCE

**Cain and Abel: Human Sacrifice.** (Cf. MAN, 1944, 31 and 67.)

**64** SIR,—The problem of the kind of sacrifice divinely commanded in the myth of the Two First Brothers is indeed beset, as Professor Hooke observed in his courteous criticism (MAN, 1944, 67) of the solution suggested by me, with a deep tangle of difficulties making any approach to it, including his own, a matter of extreme difficulty; no solution yet proposed can claim evident certainty. The old Hebrew editors, religiously utilizing all the remains of their ancient literature considered by them as sacred, pieced together the small fragments into a kind of whole now very unexplainable. In the present case, Cain was represented as the prototype of smiths, though cast out into the desert for his sin; his descendants were figured as creators of various crafts, while one of them, Jabal, was progenitor of tent-dwellers who live on their herds (*Gen.* 4, 20). This name, as Professor Hooke has remarked, is now identified with that of Abel: the Septuagint records it as *Ἰάβηλ*, meaning in Hebrew 'ram,' with which we may compare Rachel, meaning 'ewe' and Leah, 'cow'—etymological reminders of the great pastoral element in the composition of the Israelites; the Arabic retains in *Habil* (with the strong *H*) the equivalent of the Hebrew initial *ch*; the word may mean a 'hunter.' Cain was further recorded as the eponymous founder of the Kenite tribe of the Amalekites who were Bedawin people of the desert, or rather half-desert, living on their flocks as nomads within strictly kept, if wide, limits (Greek *nomoi*; Arabic *daireh*) and not as mere 'wanderers,' as the common misuse of the term implies. A noticeable inconsistency is the attribution to pastoral folk of the invention of crafts which can only be referred to urban, not pastoral, conditions.

This disturbing confusion is of course largely due to the exceedingly mixed composition of the people. They appear to have consisted of an archaic layer of Canaanites, tillers of the soil, akin to the inhabitants of the region round Ras el Shamra and to the Phœnicians, on whom were superimposed the Amorites and the Arameans, a pastoral people who, as Dr. Theod. Robinson has concluded, retained their own religious forms till the time of the Exile (*The Clarendon Bible*, III, p. 42); also Hittites and Philistines, besides the Sons of Jacob, or Israelites, who entered after the exodus from Egypt.

For a full discussion of the details readers may be referred to the first volume, by Dr. Theod. Robinson, of the *History of Israel*, by himself and Dr. Oesterley, which treats of the many sources of information and theory with great fullness. For sacrifice, see Dr. G. S. Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament*. For ready reference help is to be found in many books of reference, by Hastings, Cheyne, and others, as well as in such popular commentaries as those published in the *Clarendon Bible* or the *Century Bible*.

When, in due course, this agglomeration settled down it was known as the 'Sons of Israel,' that is, of Jacob, showing how that people, on its conquest of the land, dominated its inhabitants. In this no connexion is shown with Abraham and their true history begins indeed with the Exodus. They were themselves aware of the mixture of their origins, as certain texts of the Old Testament prove, as *Ezek.* 16, 3 and 45: 'Thy birth is of the land of the Canaanites; the Amorite was thy father and thy mother an Hittite'; and in *Deut.* 26, 5: 'An Aramean ready to die was my father' (i.e. Jacob). Here the conventional tradition about Abraham and his clan was totally ignored and it would seem that the editors, finding these stories surviving in their ancient fragments of literature, incorporated them, as in duty bound, in the *Torah* without thought of inconsequence.

A widely accepted explanation of the story under discussion is that it reflects the ceaseless struggles of the peasantry against the encroachments of land-hungry nomads, but in view of the predominance of the pastoral element in the composition of the people—Arameans and their near kin, Sons of Jacob—there is room here for doubt. These people would certainly have had their way in the matter, being fierce-minded and stubborn, good fighters; the Israelites were constantly branded by their prophets as 'stiff-necked' and

they proudly proclaimed their deity as a 'man of war,' who 'teacheth our hands to fight.' There could indeed have been but slight conflict and the myth may have been little more than an echo of remote Canaanitish attempts to give to vegetable food the higher place in sacrificial rites that was reserved for flesh. The early dispute was forgotten, though traces of it, quite misunderstood, survived and found their place in the Bible in the process of editing.

A great difficulty facing Professor Hooke's proposed interpretation is the matter of human sacrifice. The myth must be referred to the age when pastoralism was still fresh in the land, not closely mingled with the agricultural element, and before the cult of Jahweh had won to its eventual supremacy (see T. H. Robinson, *Clarendon Bible*, III, p. 43). That human sacrifice was sometimes practised cannot of course be denied, but, as it is now generally agreed, only for special occasions, such as that of Jephthah (*Judges*, 11, 30), though even here it must be noted that the victim had not been specified; another case is that of the king of Moab's son (*II Kings*, 3, 27). Moab, it is true, was not Israelitish but it came of Canaanitish stock and the Hebrew editor shows no sign of aversion, such as he would, had he looked on it as a monstrous thing. In due distress a sacrificer would easily conceive that his offering would be more effectual if it was his dearest treasure, even his own son, especially the eldest; this would be rare, but rarer still such an offering as Jephthah's, made impulsively under a feeling of deep gratitude to the deity for delivery from impending danger. It thus seems probable that the story of Abraham and Isaac (*Gen.* 22), which has often been advanced as an indirect proof of an early custom of sacrificing the oldest son, really indicates the divine interdiction of the sacrifice on desperate or even over-enthusiastic occasions of the dearest treasure, a child.

Another form of this kind of sacrifice seems to appear in the 'passing through the fire' of children, after the abomination of the heathen whom the Lord cast out before the children of Israel (*II Kings*, 21, 2 and 6), the latter part of the sentence being framed in accordance with received editorial methods. The practice was seemingly borrowed from their northern neighbours, Phœnicians, who were akin, and had much commerce with them; the excess to which it was carried in the Phœnician colony of Carthage has been luridly described—probably with much exaggeration—by Diodorus Siculus XX, 14.

Such sacrifices as these could only have been current in an urbanized society, with a plentiful population and wealth derived from urban activities such as trade or finance. Early Palestine, with its great pastoral element, could not supply those conditions. Life was hard and unimportant, all the hands that could be mustered were required to maintain it on an all but bare stage, a condition which may still be seen in poor lands in the Near East. It was enough for the simple folk of the early days to make offerings of their own produce, the first born of every ewe, as gifts to ensure the continuance of their deity's goodwill towards them. Later, when the various components of the nation had settled to a practically homogeneous community, it would appear that the need came to be felt of extending the dedication of the firstborn of cattle to men also, but no slaying was demanded; the dedication was resolved in a 'redemption' which must surely have been the kernel of the ordinance laid down in *Ex.* 13, 11, 15 and 34, 20. In a later text, *Num.* 18, 15, redemption of the first-born child is obligatory while it is strictly forbidden for cattle, who were the original object of the pastoral sacrifice. Money had now entered into the transaction and was made to serve, like nearly all offerings at that date to the deity, as a wage for the priesthood. A further consideration is that, when the country had reached the full urban condition, the wealthy capitalist—to use a modern denomination—would hardly suffer from this practice a serious economic loss, as would the pastoralist; yet their parental emotions, ever very strong in the Jewish race, must surely have prevented this sort of sacrifice from becoming in any degree general, though perhaps, as Ewald has suggested (see *The Century Bible*, Micah, p. 259, n. 7) the royal example of Manasseh may have

set something of a fashion in the matter. That it was restricted to special occasions seems clearly to be deduced from the instance which caused Micah's outburst (6. 7) for it was certainly peculiar, intended to appease divine wrath for the commission of a terrible sin which the prophet did not specify: 'Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?' (note the antithesis). It seems obvious, too, that the prophets' castigation in general was directed against the men of power and wealth, at the same time pressing on the people as a whole the full acceptance of the noble ideals of justice and true kindness to which they and the Psalmists have given so much splendid expression.

Certain features of the Feast of Passover have been adduced by some authorities as evidence of the early sacrifice of the firstborn child, but later analysis goes to show that the smearing of blood round the doorway was an ancient household rite performed annually to keep evil spirits away from the house during the ensuing year, just as in Europe, till to-day, wreaths, flowers or knots of garlic will be hung up for the same purpose, suitable instruments for peoples whose chief food is—or was—vegetable. Garlic as a guard against evil spirits is of very old occurrence, heads of it having been found in baked clay, painted, in predynastic Egyptian tombs. But the Hebrew theologians made of it a ceremony commemorating the supreme event of their history, the exodus from Egypt, explaining that the blood was smeared on the lintels as a memorial of what was done on that occasion when the 'Destroyer' (*Ex.* 12. 23), seeing the blood, would distinguish the house from that of Egyptians and pass over it on his mission of slaying the firstborn of all the Egyptians; the theological process is clearly shown in *Ex.* 13. 14-15. The old rite retained its domestic character till the founding of the Temple at Jerusalem which, with its severely centralizing system, put an end to domestic ceremonies as Gray (*op. cit.* Chapter XIII) has shown; he points out too (p. 356) that this centralization was so complete that in the second century A.D. learned doctors had utterly forgotten the early domestic phase.

The capitalist conditions sketched above had an early beginning, rising to their peak in the days of that great trading king, Solomon. In the famous fragment of the earliest Hebrew literature, the Song of Deborah, we read (*Judges*, 4. 17) that on the great day of battle Dan 'remained in ships' and that 'Asher sat still at the haven of the sea and abode by 'his creeks'; even so early had sea-trading begun. Further evidence, of later date, is to be seen in the barbarous story of Dinah and Shechem told in *Genesis*, ch. 34; v. 10 relates Hamor's proposal for reconciliation with the outraged Jacob and his sons, that they should dwell together and intermarry in Hamor's place of habitation, that they might 'trade 'therem.' Another evident case is that of the men of Sodom and Gomorrah whose great gains led to the pride of life and regardlessness of morality to which Ezekiel referred (16. 49). That it was not an exceptional case may be inferred from vv. 7 to 14 of the same chapter where he sets out in language of poetic force the great material prosperity to which the Israelites had arrived, with their resultant iniquities (vv. 16 ff.). The rulers of such people were themselves great in trade and showed many of the characteristics of the men of the Cities of the Plain. The leading example is of course Solomon, with his constant intercourse with those famous traders, the Phoenicians, near akin to his own nation. He held ports not only on his western coast but also in the south, at Ezion Giber, at the head of the present Gulf of Aqaba, east of Sinai. Palestine had become a great emporium, lying across much-used trade-routes and thus enabling the king to take most profitable tolls from the rich convoys to and from South Arabia, with its precious frankincense, and India whence came splendid jewels, and the apes, peacocks and ivory—or was that Egyptian?—with which he thought to enlarge his magnificence. This position indeed has often been repeated in other times and other countries, notably in Egypt of the later Middle Ages taking toll from the European commerce with the Far East in its transit across the Gulf of Suez, until the Portuguese discovered the sea-route round South Africa and inflicted great damage on the Egyptian treasury.

A point of etymology has been raised by Professor Hooke

about the Arabic word *lehem* (with the strong *H*), which bears the meaning of 'joining together.' It provides an excellent illustration of the strange character of several words in that language which bear in themselves exactly contrary meanings, in this case both 'joining' and 'tearing apart.' Just now I am far away from the great lexicons and do not remember where, long ago, I first came across this astonishing peculiarity, but the handy *Vocabulaire* of the learned Jesuit fathers of Beyrouth gives the essence of the two meanings. Other examples, even more striking, are *ahemm*, meaning both 'black' and 'white,' and *menm*, both 'weak' and 'strong'; they recall the quip of a learned Arabist: 'Arabic words may mean three things—themselves, their contrary, and another name for a camel.'

As for the Hebrew verb *lechem*, translated as 'war' in *Judges*, 5. 8, it is used occasionally in the Old Testament with the meaning of 'eat' instead of the much more general *akal*. The simple form occurs only in the disputed text of *Judges* with the meaning of war which is generally accepted and is supported by the Septuagint. The 'Song of Deborah' in which it occurs is among the very oldest passages of the Bible and the simple form of the word may have been in current use when the Song was first sung, to be developed later into the usual participial *milchamah*. The classics know many such words, 'spoken once,' which, not without dispute, eventually gain acceptance.

To conclude, I have no illusion of finality in the suggestions that I have advanced: they will without doubt run counter to others, but they seem more accordant with present human understanding and feeling than many current ones, though of course these considerations can only be sub-servient in the evaluation of evidence. G. D. HORNBLOWER

#### Mohenjodaro and Easter Island Again

**65** SIR.—The relationship between the signs that cover the Mohenjodaro and Harappa seals and those on the Easter Island tablets was put in doubt by myself in a paper which appeared in *Anthropos* (Robert v. Heine-Geldern, 'Die Osterinselschrift,' *Anthropos*, Vol. 33, St. Gabriel, Mödling, 1938, pp. 815-909). A reply to these criticisms was made by Dr. Heine-Geldern, who once more stressed the link between the Mohenjodaro writing and the Easter Island symbols and extended his comparisons to early Chinese writing. Other pursuits have prevented me from continuing the discussion, but I recently had occasion to read a paper by Dr. J. Roder, published in Germany during the war (*Ethnologischer Anzeiger*, Band 4, Heft 8, Stuttgart, 1944, pp. 475-80, under the title, 'Das Boustrophedon der Osterinselschrift'), which supports my contention that the similarities between the two writings are due to convergence and are not indicative of a relationship between the two cultures. The most recent issues of the *Ethnologischer Anzeiger* seem to have been entirely destroyed during the bombing of Stuttgart, except a few copies distributed to German subscribers before the event. Those who are interested in the 'mysteries' of Easter Island will certainly welcome this critical study, which points to the method to be followed in analyzing apparent similarities between distant cultures in cases like the present one.

The following is a summary of and direct translation of the most important passages of Dr. Roder's article, with a few comments by the reviewer:—

The boustrophedon writing of Easter Island is so remarkable that its occurrence in any other writing system would be used as evidence of an historical connexion. Von Heine-Geldern did not find this disposition of the characters of early Chinese writing which he considers to be related to Easter Island script. However, he is convinced that he found such correspondences in some seals from Harappa. The author reproduces the texts on which Dr. Heine-Geldern bases his argument.

At the outset such a comparison loses much of its probability in consideration of the fact that among the thousand odd seals from Harappa only these few parallels have been found. But even these parallels are only illusory. The Easter Island writing is on a plane surface. The 180° revolution is not determined by the technique of the writing or by the nature of the material on which it is written. It is

quite different in the case of the three-cornered prismatic seals. It is not possible to see the whole inscription simultaneously at all unless it is unrolled. When the seal was being prepared and when the signs were engraved on the stone, it lay on the third side which was not to be worked upon (*nicht zu bearbeitenden Seite*). At the end of a line, the stone was turned 180° along its vertical axis and the new inscription was continued in the same direction as before. A real boustrophedon may occur only on a surface. Here we do not have a boustrophedon, but we are deceived by the unrolling of the inscription. Thus was realized one of the two possible methods of placing an inscription lengthwise on a three-cornered prism. The other possibility would have been to turn the prism along its edge and to begin to write anew in a manner more in accordance with our sense for such a distribution of the writing. There is no third possibility. A small plate (*l.c.*, fig. 3) shows that there was no absolute rule for the disposition of the writing. Here the signs are written along the edges so that those along the long sides are reversed. This is also an isolated tablet. Two line inscriptions on ordinary seals show the same direction and the signs are upright. Even the ordinary boustrophedon is extraordinarily rare. . . . There is only one clay tablet of Harappa with two lines the signs of which are reversed. The circumstance that a stroke uniting two lateral signs runs between the two lines may have determined and influenced the direction of the signs.

Finally, the seal which must, according to von Heine-Geldern, be read "exactly as on Easter Island" must be excluded. We do not know, after all, with which line we are to begin. The unrolling is purely arbitrary. The two edge lines, which are identical and also follow the same direction, could also be placed one under the other. Hunter has chosen that kind of order in his publication, while R. von Heine-Geldern has preferred the change reproduced here without mentioning this fact. In the reproduction there are also mistakes which, for our purpose, are irrelevant. If we consider only the middle line and one of the edge lines, the inscription can be traced back to the first type (*l.c.*, fig. 1). The repetition of the one line might be only a decorative filling of the otherwise empty third side of the prism which generally consists of dotted circles.

Thus the attempt to recognize the boustrophedon of Easter Island in single seals of the Indus culture collapses. The parallels are only illusory and can be explained from the character of the material on which they were engraved. Thus the possibility of a borrowing of the Easter Island boustrophedon is, for the time being, excluded.

The author expresses the opinion that two people originally facing each other read or chanted the text simultaneously which to them had the right disposition. The text was antiphonal. He finds a parallel for such an alternate reciting of chants in the Marquesas. According to Handy, a precursor recited a genealogy until the representative of another family took over where he had stopped. Then the *tukuna* took up his part again until the member of another family branch continued with the genealogy of his branch, until all the branches of the family had sung their respective pieces. Such an antiphonal chanting of religious hymns is widespread in the South Seas and there is evidence of it in two creation myths of Easter Island.

The reviewer subscribes entirely to the author's conclusion, namely, that "it is dangerous to consider any manifestation historically without first thinking of the possibility of a local evolution and, as in our case, of a derivation from cultural necessities."

ALFRED MÉTRAUX

#### Baigona and Figona

**66** SIR.—Every student of Melanesia will be acquainted with the Baigona Cult, this new religious movement of the Orokaiva, which has been described by Haddon, Williams, and others. (See Chunnery and Haddon: "Five New Religious Cults in British New Guinea," *The Hibbert Journal*, Vol. XV, 1917, pp. 456-458; F. E. Williams: *Orokaiva Magic*, Oxford, 1928, p. 71; J. H. P. Murray in *Annual Rep.*, 1911-1912, p. 14; A. E. Oelrichs: *ibid.*, p. 129; C. King: *ibid.*, 1912-1913, p. 154; M. M. Taylor: *The Heart of Black Papua*, New York, 1926, p. 42; W. N. Beaver: "Some Notes

on the Eating of Human Flesh in the Western Division of Papua, MAN, 1914, No. 74, p. 147.) To recall the essential facts I should mention that in 1911 a native of Tufi, called Maine, when climbing Mt. Keroro (Mt. Victory), encountered a large snake called Baigona, which lived on Mt. Keroro. By this snake, Maine was initiated into the mysteries of Baigona and given certain medicines that would cure disease. On returning to his village he imparted his new knowledge to the people and thus the cult spread along the coast as far as the former German boundary. Williams assures us that the Baigona snake was in truth a reincarnated spirit of the dead. Not only he but all snakes were henceforth to be called *Baigona* and were to be treated with affection and respect. To kill and eat them was forbidden and these taboos were extended to crocodiles, monitor lizards, eels, and sharks, as these animals are protected by the master-snake *Baigona*.

Haddon asserts that this cult appears to be purely a native growth, and that there is no evidence that it has borrowed anything from the white man. A similar opinion is expressed by Williams with regard to the so-called Taro Cult, a movement substituted for the Baigona cult which had been stamped out by the Government. (See F. E. Williams: *l.c.*, 1928, pp. 8 ff.) He says: "As it is surely unnecessary to suppose that these new ideas are introduced from a different culture, we may claim to see a movement growing and changing on its own ground, the seeds of growth being the chance ideas of its followers." (*l.c.*, pp. 78, 80.) In fact nothing could be advanced against such an opinion as far as many of the elements constituting the Baigona cult are concerned, for instance the shaking fits common to both the Baigona and Taro cults, the various practices of healing magic, etc. I would, however, like to draw attention to the similarities between the principal idea of the Baigona cult and the figona cult known in San Christoval, Owa Raha, Owa Riki, The Three Sisters Islands, Ulawa, Saa, and Guadalcanar. (For the descriptions of this cult see C. E. Fox: *The Threshold of the Pacific*, London, 1924, pp. 30, 79-86, 93-98, 234-240, 298; F. E. Coombe: *Islands of Enchantment*, London, 1911, p. 234 f.; R. H. Codrington: *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, pp. 150, 179; "Religious Beliefs and Practices in Melanesia," *J.A.I.*, 1881, p. 298 f.; H. I. Hogbin: "Culture Change in the Solomon Islands," *Oceania*, Vol. IV, 1934, p. 249; "Mana," *Oceania*, 1936, pp. 250 f., 257; "The Hill People of North-Eastern Guadalcanar," *Oceania*, 1937, p. 84 f.; W. G. Ivens, *The Island Builders of the Pacific*, London, 1930, p. 137.)

First, the phonetic resemblance between 'baigona' and 'figona' is really striking; secondly, Baigona as well as figona are powerful snakes; thirdly, Baigona and the figona serpents live on a high mountain; thus the figona Hatubwari of San Christoval lived on the summit of a mountain and finally retired to a high mountain in Guadalcanar. The great culture hero of Fiji, Ndenger, who in many respects resembles the culture—introducing figona serpents of the Solomons, in his serpent form lives on the high summit of Nakauvandra mountain; and Wonajo, the leader of the mythological snake people of Rossel Island, retired to Mt. Rossel. If Baigona is actually a reincarnated spirit of the dead, this also resembles the figona serpents, which are likewise connected with the spirits of the dead. Thus, the afterworld of San Christoval lies under the mountain of Guadalcanar to which the figona finally retired and there is a river in which the ghosts bathe to become a figona themselves and thus akin to the serpent-spirits figona; and in Fiji, the spirits of the dead go to Ndenger on Nakauvandra before going to their final abode. But the connexion of snakes with the spirits of the dead is known over a large area of British New Guinea, and this may perhaps partially explain this conception in the Baigona cult, as Haddon and Williams have suggested (Haddon in E. W. P. Chunnery, and A. C. Haddon: *l.c.*, 1917, p. 458, n. 3, from W. MacGregor, in *Annual Rep.*, 1897-1898, p. 47; F. E. Williams, *l.c.*, 1928, p. 7 f.) and would not necessarily point to a direct relation with the figona cult.

This view of a possible connexion of the Baigona and figona cults is of course purely a suggestion and cannot actually be proved, since the only sure source of information would be the native Mame, who started the cult. One would first like to know whether this native had been in the Solomons as an indentured labourer, since this would most easily explain a

transmission of ideas from one region to the other. However this may be, our suggestion does not in any way affect the most important fact of the sudden springing up of new cults among primitive peoples. But whereas this sudden emergence shakes the very prevalent notion of the permanence of all native institutions, as Haddon and Williams have duly pointed out, it does not necessarily invalidate the idea of the importance of culture contact also in modern times.

ALPHONSE RIESENFELD

### The Trobriand Islands, 1945

**67** SIR.—To Malinowski's pupils the Trobriands will always be hallowed ground, but, so far as I am aware, I am the first of them to have made a visit. In the course of Army duty I had the opportunity to spend some days there in April, 1945, and a note on my impressions will perhaps not be without interest, as almost thirty years have now elapsed since Malinowski carried out his researches.

During one stage of the Pacific war the Trobriands were an important Base, and the natives were in consequence in active contact with thousands of troops. It is gratifying to record that, largely through the untiring efforts of the District Officer, Captain Ernest Whitehouse, who has known the people intimately since 1919, they had little hardship or suffering to face. The ruin of several thousand acres of garden land to make air strips and quarries may, it is true, have some effect on food supplies later, but the natives themselves express little concern. A rise in the incidence of gonorrhoea—a disease almost impossible to control in a community where sexual promiscuity before marriage is approved—may also lead ultimately to a lowering of the birth rate, though there is a hospital where patients are being treated with the latest sulfa drugs. The ancient stone enclosures have been destroyed, too; but, again, there is comfort in the fact that these had had no significance to the people for perhaps centuries. (These enclosures have been described by Mr. Leo Austen, 'Megalithic Structures in the Trobriands,' *Oceania*, Vol. X, pp. 30-53.)

The population is the same as in Malinowski's time, about 9,000. Captain Whitehouse informed me that the culture has also remained comparatively unchanged, despite the work of the Methodist Mission, established early in the century, and a Roman Catholic Mission, established for rather more than a decade. The reason may well be that few of the natives till 1942 knew much of the outside world. There were no European-owned plantations, and the Administration always discouraged the employment of Trobrianders on the New Guinea mainland, as experience has proved them to be especially susceptible to malaria, which is rather more prevalent there.

I observed that the people still had reverence for the chief and took pains to walk with backs bent when in his presence or, in the neighbourhood of his still richly decorated dwelling. The present holder of the title is Mitakata, aged about 58, mentioned in *Crime and Custom* as the heir apparent. He displayed the liveliest interest when informed of my relations with Malinowski and explained that the Trobrianders knew him as 'Man of Songs.' I was permitted to handle a lute-wood spoon fashioned from the tibia of To'uluwa, the former chief, Malinowski's close friend, and taken to be introduced to his eldest son, Namwana Guya'u. Readers of *Crime and Custom* will recall the account of the dramatic quarrel between Mitakata and Namwana Guya'u which led to the latter's banishment from To'uluwa's village, Omarakana. This difference seems to have been settled long ago.

Mitakata was accompanied throughout by his heir, Vanoi Kiriwina, a prepossessing youth of obvious intelligence, aged 17, and his son, Mukumuk, aged 7. The latter was clearly the favourite, though Vanoi was frequently consulted when I asked a question.

A *kulu* expedition to the island of Kitava was in preparation, and I was invited to witness the launching of the canoe outriggers with the appropriate magic. Mitakata had himself accompanied an expedition to Dobu shortly before, the first occasion on which a Trobriand chief had left his home. In a formal speech during his visit to the Government station on

the neighbouring Normanby I-land he mentioned with gratitude the safety which the people now enjoy when travelling from place to place. A prophecy that the *kulu* would soon perish, incidentally, is the only point on which Captain Whitehouse has found Malinowski wrong in the whole of his 26 years' experience.

As a tribute to Malinowski's personality, I must also record that, because I, too, had been associated with 'The Man of Songs,' I was presented by Mitakata on my departure with the largest yam and the largest bunch of bananas that I have ever seen.

H. IAN HOBGIN

### The Ethics of Publishing Papers from Symposia Singly.

**68** Cf. MAN, 1943, 105.

SIR.—The publication in MAN (1943, 105) of Dr. Montagu's paper from a symposium sponsored by the American Association of Physical Anthropologists has caused some 'raised eyebrows' over here. This paper, I am reliably informed, received some justifiable criticism at the time it was read. The discussion was not reported in the *Proceedings* of the Association, but the nature of one of the criticisms is clearly evident in the abstract of the succeeding paper (*Am. J. Phys. Anthropol.*, 28, suppl. to no. 3, abs. no. 10, 1941). Since some of the authorities in attendance at the symposium differed with Dr. Montague, and in the absence of a statement in the published paper indicating this fact or attributing to the author sole responsibility for the assumptions and views expressed therein, I should like to raise some questions as to the ethics involved:

Should a participant in a symposium, who has had to defend his thesis against differing points of view and perhaps even charges of factual error, offer his paper for publication without recognizing these criticisms? Is it fair to the other participants or to the agency sponsoring the symposium when an author publishes his paper singly without consulting them? In the absence of a footnote indicating such approval, is not the author implying that his statements have been endorsed, amended, or corrected? And finally, before accepting for publication a paper from a symposium, should not an editor satisfy himself as to the answers to the above questions and then, if necessary, supply the proper footnote?

T. D. STEWART

U.S. National Museum, Washington, D.C.

[Any author is free to publish elsewhere in full a paper of which a summary only has been printed, whether as part of a symposium or otherwise, unless he has surrendered his copyright to the promoters of the symposium or other persons. He is not bound to advertise criticism or divergence of opinion, any more than are the promoters of the symposium; though he may be well-advised if he refers to such comments. The absence of such a reference proves nothing, and an editor is not bound to warn his readers that a paper which he accepted for publication has been adversely criticized. At all events, the editor of the *Am. J. Phys. Anthropol.* did not do so. A frequent purpose of a symposium is to elicit and compare divergent theories; and the pages of *Man* are open to critics of views published in them. *The Editor of MAN.*]

### The Malay Chin (cf. MAN, 1945, 103.

**69** SIR.—With reference to Nyessen's communication, MAN, 1945, 103, it is questionable whether *Adherentia mentalis* has a racial significance, since we have observed similar anatomical peculiarities among the urban and rural communities in Northern Ireland.

*Adherentia mentalis* is not uncommon, though we cannot at the time of writing give exact figures. It is common to both sexes and may be observed in both old and young, but there is in our opinion no accompanying parotid swelling.

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**AUGUSTUS HENRY LANE FOX PITT RIVERS, 1827-1900**

*(From a photograph taken about 1890)*



# MAN

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES

**GENERAL PITT RIVERS.** *By T. K. Penniman, M.A., Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford*

**70** Lieutenant-General Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt Rivers, F.R.S., first Inspector of Ancient Monuments, founder and benefactor of the great Museum which bears his name in the University of Oxford, was born in 1827, and died in 1900. His name will ever be a prominent landmark in the history of the progress of Archaeology and Ethnology. Many of the methods which he developed in the middle of the last century, at a time when scientific method of research in these subjects was in its infancy, are now part of the ordinary and obvious routine of work, and taken for granted by scholars.

His interest in both Archaeology and Ethnology was the direct result of his employment in Her Majesty's Army (Grenadier Guards), in the Musketry School at Hythe, which he was instrumental in founding, after previous experimental work at Woolwich, Enfield, and Malta. In his paper in the *Journal of the United Service Institution* (1858, II, viii), 'On the Improvement of the Rifle as a Weapon for General Use,' Colonel Lane Fox, who had observed all the successive variations through which new and important forms were arrived at, or invented, noted how slight each modification was, that many stages disappeared and were soon forgotten, and in short, that the whole process of gradual advancement by successive minute variations was one of evolution, rather than of progression by sudden jumps.

It was in 1851 that he began his collections with a small series of fire-arms to illustrate the development of more specialized from more primitive types, and on the assumption that the phenomena of development associated with these might apply more widely, extended his private museum to include the principal appliances, industries, and arts of mankind, arranging his material by subjects, with local sub-groups, and, wherever possible, indicating a development of ideas, a method akin to that by which zoologists classify animals under families, genera, species, and varieties. The result is a Museum of Comparative Technology, illustrating the origin, development, geographical distribution, and variation of the principal arts and industries of mankind, from the earliest times to the age of mass production.

Here the union of archaeology and ethnology becomes apparent (a union on which the General was ever insistent) as the past and present of the same subject of study, 'man as he was, and as he is,' each branch helping to illuminate the study of the other.

To Archaeology Colonel Lane Fox brought the same soldierly precision as to Ethnology. His researches and collections cover periods from the Lower Paleolithic to Roman and even Mediaeval times, and extend all over the world in space. Though facts brought to light by his researches have filled many gaps in the record, the methods which he adopted are of even more significance. When in 1880 he succeeded to the Rivers property and assumed the name Pitt Rivers, he became the owner of Cranborne Chase, an estate full of pre- and proto-historic remains. With ample means now at his disposal, he spared no pains and expense in excavation and in recording his work. Surveys were accurate and complete, plans and sections were carefully plotted, models were made, and every specimen, no matter how unimportant it might appear at first sight, was kept and labelled, with its exact position. Objects were photographed and drawn with meticulous accuracy. From the great volumes on Excavations in Cranborne Chase, any archaeologist to-day can accurately reconstruct any site, and replace the specimens in their original position. The facts are so presented that they will be of use for all time, no matter how interpretations may change.

In 1864 the Museum was transferred to Bethnal Green, and again, in 1878 to South Kensington. The collections were finally transferred to the University of Oxford in 1884.

In the deed of gift, the General required a person to lecture on the subjects of the Museum. The first Reader appointed was Edward Burnett Tylor, afterwards Professor of Anthropology. The Museum was at first a sub-department under Comparative and Human Anatomy, in the care of Professor Moseley, of *Challenger* fame. In 1891, it became the independent Department of Ethnology, including the Pitt Rivers Museum, with Henry Balfour as Curator, a man whose fifty years of researches have widened and deepened the great work



of Pitt Rivers. The teaching initiated in the Museum developed into a Diploma course, founded by Henry Balfour, Robert Ranulph Marett, Arthur Thomson, and John Linton Myres. Their pupils, and those of their successors, have gone into all parts of the world.

Students of former and present generations, and for generations to come, have been and will be both stimulated and restrained by the strategy of the General's broad-minded research, and by the tactics of his scientific caution.

# **INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SCIENCES: MEETING 71 OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL AT OXFORD, 12-15 APRIL, 1946**

During the Second Session of this Congress, at Copenhagen in 1938, proposals for the Third Session, to be held in 1942, were referred by the Permanent Council to the Bureau appointed to deal with the business of the Congress between Sessions. But the outbreak of war prevented any decision.

The next regular year for a Session of the Congress would be 1946. In view of the present situation, however, the surviving and accessible members of the Bureau agreed to refer the decision as to the Third Session to the Permanent Council of the Congress, and received from the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland an invitation to hold such a meeting in England.

This meeting was held in Oxford, on the invitation of the University, from Friday, 12 April, to Monday, 15 April, 1946. Accommodation was reserved for the members of the Permanent Council in New College, Oxford, and the sessions were held, some in New College, some in the University School of Geography.

The following delegates were present:—

Alfoldi, Prof. A., Hungary, Buda Pest; Arik, Dr. R. O., Turkey, Ankara; de Barandiarán, Prof. J. M., Spain; Breuil, Rev. Abbé H., France, Paris; Brodrick, A. H., Britain, London (*Secretary*); Campenhout, Prof. E. van, Belgium, Louvain; Charles, Rev. Prof. P., Belgium, Louvain; Le Gros Clark, Prof. W. E., Britain, Oxford; Fischer, Prof. H. Thy, Netherlands, Utrecht; Fleure, Prof. H. J., Britain, Roy. Anthropol. Inst.; Gabus, Prof. J., Switzerland, Neuchâtel; Genna, Prof. G., Italy, Florence; Hailey, Rt. Hon. Lord, Britain, Colonial Office; Hutton, Prof. J. H., Britain, Cambridge; Jansen, Dr. V. J., Netherlands, Utrecht; Jonghe, Prof. E. de, Belgium, Louvain; Kansu, Prof. Shevket Aziz, Turkey, Ankara; Karvonen, Dr. Martti, Finland, Helsinki; Felhoen Kraal, Dr. Johanna, Netherlands, Amsterdam; Leroi-Gourhan, A., France, Paris; Lindblom, Prof. G., Sweden, Stockholm; Locher, Dr. G. W., Netherlands, Leiden; Luquin, Dr. Eduardo, Mexico; Macalister, Dr. R. A. S., Eire; Morgenstierne, Prof. G., Norway, Oslo; Myres, Sir John, Britain, Oxford (*Secretary*); Olbrechts, Prof. F.M., Belgium, Ghent; Powell Price, Lt.-Col., British India; Photiades, Prof. A., Greece; Radcliffe-Brown, Prof. A. R., Britain, Oxford; Riviére, Prof. G. H., France, Paris; Schmidt, Rev. Prof. W., Vatican City; Sergi, Prof. S., Italy,

Rome; Birket Smith, Prof. Kai, Denmark, Copenhagen (*Secretary*); Spry, Graham, Canada; Stolyhwo, Prof. K., Poland, Cracow; Suk, Prof. V., Czechoslovakia, Brno; Tamagnini, Prof. E., Portugal, Coimbra; Tildesley, Miss M. L., Britain, Wolverhampton; Twisselmann, Prof. D., Belgium, Brussels; Vallois, Prof. H. V., France, Paris; Valsík, Dr. J. A., Czechoslovakia, Prague; Wrong, Miss Margaret, Canada; Zollschan, Dr. I., Czechoslovakia.

In addition, the following expressed their regret that they were prevented from attending the Oxford meeting:—

Alcobé, Prof. S. (Barcelona); Brauholtz, H. J. (London); Corso, Prof. R. (Naples); Gahs, Prof. A., and Gavazzi, Dr. M. (Zagreb); Kleiweg de Zwaan, Prof. J. P. (Amsterdam); Mendez Corrêa, Prof. A. A. (Porto); Pericot Garcia, Prof. L. (Barcelona); Raftery, Dr. J. (Dublin); Richards, Dr. Audrey I. (S. Africa); Santos, Prof. J. R. dos (Porto); Silva Correia, Lt.-Col. A. de (Nova Goa); Speiser, Prof. F. (Basel); Stolyhwa, Dr. Eugenia (Cracow); Woo, Prof. T. L. (Nanking); Zupanič, Prof. N. (Ljubljana).

The following representatives of other bodies attended the discussions and public lectures:—

*Delegates of the Royal Anthropological Institute:* Fleure, Prof. H. J., *President*; Fagg, W. B., *Hon. Secretary*; Lindgren, Dr. E. J., *Editor*.

*Members of the Oxford Faculty of Anthropology:* Radcliffe-Brown, Prof. A.R., Dept. of Social Anthropology; Penniman, T. K., Curator, Pitt Rivers Museum; Weiner, J. S., Reader in Physical Anthropology; Blackwood, Miss B., Lecturer in Ethnology; Fortes, Dr. M., Reader in Social Anthropology; Bradford, J. S. P., Assistant, Pitt Rivers Museum.

*Other delegates and observers:* Childe, Prof. V. Gordon, Edinburgh, from the International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences; Hailey, Rt. Hon. Lord, Colonial Office; Zimmern, Sir. A., and Huxley, Dr. Julian, United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

## **WELCOME BY THE UNIVERSITY**

At the Opening Session on 13 April, the Delegates were welcomed by the Vice-Chancellor (Sir Richard

Livingstone, President of Corpus Christi College), as follows :—

It is a great pleasure to welcome the Council of the Congress to Oxford, and I venture to think that you have chosen a very suitable place for your first post-war meeting. Oxford was the first British University to appoint (in 1883) a teacher of Anthropology (E. B. Tylor—a great name in the history of your studies), and the first to institute (in 1907) a Diploma in Anthropology. There is now a full Professorship of Social Anthropology, and a University Readership. Special attention has always been devoted to the training of administrators and missionaries; to systematic work in human geography; and to those aspects of Anthropology and Ethnology which illustrate the traditional Oxford studies of Ancient History and Philosophy.

In that connexion I must specially mention the name of Sir John Myres, who has been one of the vital forces in Oxford studies for more years than I can remember, and whom we are delighted to see here to-day, perennially young in mind.

It is natural that Oxford, where humanistic and scientific studies both hold an important place, should especially welcome members of your Congress. One of the intellectual dangers of the day is a divorce between humanism and science, though both should be indivisible parts of human culture, as both are certainly essential to human progress. But Anthropology is a bridge-subject, drawing from Religion, Philosophy, History, Aesthetics, as well as from Anatomy, Physiology, Geology, and other sciences. Your influence is for contact and alliance between studies that need each other and are impoverished if they live in isolation.

But your presence suggests other reflections. In these international societies we have a symbol and type of the world as it should be—the co-operation of men of all nations for a common purpose. Anthropologists no doubt have their differences (those of antiquarians are commonly supposed often to be acute), but, unlike statesmen, they settle them without bloodshed. Plato thought that the world would never have peace till philosophers were rulers and rulers philosophers. Perhaps he might have regarded anthropologists as capable of taking the philosophers' place. Certainly the best type of scientist has much in common with what he meant by a philosopher.

Then, too, one cannot see this gathering without reflecting on the storms that have swept the world since you met at Copenhagen in 1938. All of you will remember colleagues or friends who have been the victims of these storms, and whose deaths have left your studies poorer. And, apart from these casualties, how many who co-operated with you have been cut off from scientific fellowship by the schism of war. Fortunately, when these storms subside human beings set about rebuilding their ruined projects and carrying on the work of civilization. In that unwearied courage and faith the hope of progress consists: and perhaps I may welcome you not only as members of your Congress but as representatives of that spirit.

The thanks of the meeting were expressed by Professor Kai Birket Smith (Copenhagen).

In the afternoon the Vice-Chancellor received the delegates and many members of the University at tea in the Hall of Corpus Christi College. The thanks of the guests were expressed by Professor V. Suk (Brno).

After dinner the Warden of New College, Mr. A. H. Smith, welcomed the delegates, whose thanks were expressed by Dr. G. Lindblom (Stockholm).

#### FIRST BUSINESS MEETING: 15 APRIL

Professor Kai Birket Smith (Copenhagen, General Secretary) referred to the death of the President of the Copenhagen Congress, Professor Thomas Thomsen, and proposed as President for the present meeting Professor H. J. Fleure, President of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

Professor Fleure, taking the chair, nominated as Vice-Presidents for the present meeting Professor E. de Jonghe (Belgium), Dr. G. Lindblom (Sweden), Professor G. W. Locher (Netherlands), Professor S. Sergi (Italy), Rev. Dr. W. Schmidt (Vatican City), Professor E. Tamagnini (Portugal), Professor H. V. Vallois (France).

*Date and Place of the next Session of the Congress.*—It was agreed that at this meeting proposals should be made freely, and discussed informally, but that decisions should be deferred to the Second Business Meeting on Monday, 15 April, in order to allow full opportunity for exchange of views among the delegates.

The normal year for a Session of the Congress would be 1946, but circumstances seemed to indicate 1947 or 1948 as the earliest possible.

Invitations were presented :—

- (a) from the Government of Czechoslovakia, represented by the Chargé d'Affaires in London, M. Čižar, supported by Professor V. Suk (Brno) and Dr. J. A. Valšík (Prague);
- (b) from the Government of Mexico, represented by the Chargé d'Affaires, M. E. Luquin;
- (c) from the Government of Portugal, communicated by Prof. E. Tamagnini (Coimbra);
- (d) from Belgium, communicated by Professor E. de Jonghe (Louvain), Professor F. M. Olbrechts (Ghent), and Professor van Campenhout and Rev. Professor Charles (Louvain), who explained the circumstances which prevented formal invitation from the Government;
- (e) from Turkey, communicated by Professor Shevket Aziz Kansu and Dr. Remzi Oguz Arik (Ankara), who undertook to consult their Government without delay.

*Revision of the List of the Permanent Council.*—Sir John Myres (Oxford, General Secretary) described the procedure hitherto followed in filling vacancies, by co-optation, with informal regard to the representation of departments of science, or leading academic institutions, in each country. When delegates so nominated were unable to attend a meeting, the advice of the Embassy or Legation in the country where the meeting is held, is sought, to secure the

attendance of a temporary representative or observer. After discussion, it was agreed that this procedure took sufficient account of the different conditions in the countries to be represented: and the hope was expressed that before the next Session of the Congress, delegates might be appointed from the countries not yet represented in the Permanent Council, especially in Asia and South America.

*Reports of Research Committees.*—At the London and Copenhagen Congresses, subjects brought before the Sections, but not susceptible of immediate discussion, were referred to Research Committees. During the war, the activities of these Committees were almost wholly suspended, but it was found possible to submit for provisional discussion some aspects of their work, in the communications which are summarized below (MAN, 1946, 75ff): and the Committees were reappointed, some with changes of composition or of terms of reference.

## SECOND BUSINESS MEETING: 15 APRIL

*Date and Place of the next Congress.*—The discussion adjourned from 13 April was resumed. It was agreed by 20 votes to 10 that the Third Congress should take place in the year 1947, and preferably in the month of August or the first week of September.

It was agreed, while thanking the representatives of Belgium and of Turkey for their unofficial invitations, to limit the choice to the three official invitations from the Governments of Czechoslovakia, Mexico, and Portugal, specifically for 1947.

On a secret ballot, Czechoslovakia received 39 votes, Portugal 37, and Mexico 26. The Third Session of the Congress will therefore be held in Prague, in August, 1947.

The other delegations were cordially thanked for their invitations: the hope was expressed that they may be renewed on future occasions: and it was strongly recommended to the Third Congress that the Fourth Congress might, if possible, be held in Belgium.

The Officers of the Congress were authorized to take appropriate action, in the event of any unforeseen emergency affecting the date or place of the Third Session.

*Admission of the Russian Language under Article 12.*—It was agreed, on the motion of Dr. J. A. Valšík (Prague) to recommend to the Third Congress that Article 12 of the *Règlement Général* be amended by including Russian among the languages prescribed for official use by the Congress. Also that, since this change of regulation cannot be effected until the Fourth Congress, the Organizing Committee of the Third Congress should be invited to provide for the acceptance of communications in Russian on that occasion. M. Leroi-Gourhan (Paris) suggested that

this should be conditional on the full and effective participation of the Russians in the Congress.

*The List of the Permanent Council.* as amended in the course of the present meeting, was adopted and referred to the Officers of the Congress for completion.

*The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.*—As it seemed desirable to ascertain the relations between this new international organization and non-governmental international organizations already established, such as the present Congress, the chief adviser (and former Secretary) of UNESCO, Sir Alfred Zimmern, and the Executive Secretary to the Preparatory Commission, Dr. Julian Huxley, F.R.S., kindly agreed to address the Permanent Council on Sunday, 14 April.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization was created at a conference in London on 1 November, 1945, in accordance with the resolution proposed on behalf of the French Government at San Francisco, and unanimously approved. A draft constitution has been widely circulated for comment, and it is agreed that the seat of UNESCO shall be in Paris, like the Institute of Cultural Co-operation established by the League of Nations.

The aim of UNESCO is to advance, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and security. With a view to preserving the independence, integrity, and fruitful diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the States Members of this Organization, the Organization is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction. The Organization will include a General Conference, Executive Board, and a Secretariat. Each Member State will make its own arrangements for associating its principal bodies, preferably by the formation of a National Commission.

In the matter which directly interests the International Congress, UNESCO may make suitable arrangements for consultation and co-operation with non-governmental international organizations concerned with matters within its competence, and may invite them to undertake specific tasks. Such co-operation may also include appropriate participation by representatives of such organizations on advisory committees set up by the General Conference. (*Article XI, 4.*)

*Discussion.*—14 April: Professor K. Birket Smith (Copenhagen) in the Chair. Sir Alfred Zimmern, commending UNESCO to the meeting, and submitting copies of its constitution, said that it had the double purpose of helping scholars and helping world peace, by establishing a link between knowledge and power. He gave examples of recent distortions of historical truth and of pseudo-sciences serving

political ends. 'Geopolitik,' for example, was Nazi distortion of the geographical generalizations of an Oxford teacher, Sir Halford Mackinder. The political organization of the United Nations needs to be 'underpinned' intellectually by such an organization as UNESCO is intended to be. UNO might fall into the wrong hands; statesmen may go far astray without guidance from instructed public opinion. Over forty countries were represented at the Preparatory Conference; and some of the speakers represented 'non-governmental international organizations' like the present Congress; and this mode of co-operation by observers could be extended.

Dr. Julian Huxley, F.R.S., who had succeeded Sir Alfred Zimmern as Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission, described the new organization in detail. The two deputy-secretaries are French and American. There are seven functional divisions: that for natural science being directed by a biochemist, Dr. Joseph Needham (Cambridge). The human species was unique in its variability and the need was not for uniformity but for still greater variability within a larger cultural unity; in Frank's phrase 'an orchestration of cultures.' He thought that anthropologists should give greater attention to art *qua* art. UNESCO would not itself undertake anthropological work, but would seek to stimulate bodies like this Congress to do so, and perhaps assist publication.

Sir John Myres (Oxford) reviewed the history of international organization in anthropology, which went back to about 1850, and described the establishment of the present Congress as a purely and truly international body. In reply to his and other questions, further assurance was given that under *Article XI, 4*, UNESCO contemplates no interference with existing non-governmental international organizations, while offering opportunities of co-operation between them in more general enterprises.

It was therefore agreed unanimously to welcome the establishment of the new Organization, and to look forward to opportunities of fruitful co-operation with it.

#### THE RESEARCH COMMITTEES OF THE CONGRESS

At the London and Copenhagen Sessions, subjects requiring international co-operation and prolonged enquiries were referred to Research Committees. Though the activities of these Committees were almost wholly interrupted by the war, it has been found possible to obtain either *interim* reports, or communications on special aspects of these enquiries; and after discussion, the Research Committees were respectively reappointed or reorganized as follows:—

*International Research in Arctic Ethnology.*—A provisional report was presented by Dr. Kai Birket

Smith (Copenhagen: *rapporteur*) and the Committee was reappointed.

*Standardization of Anthropological Technique.*—A provisional report was presented by Miss M. L. Tildesley (Wolverhampton: *rapporteur*). The Copenhagen proposals had been submitted to the Committee, and 19 out of 35 members had replied. Portugal had made great progress during the war-years. The British Committee was active until the war intervened. The United States, under Hrdlička's influence, had proceeded independently, but Boas had used his influence in favour of collaboration, and the younger men were more ready to co-operate.

For valid comparisons, more exact definitions of measurements were required. The unit of measurement should not be less than five-sixth of the standard deviation. Breiting's method of measuring skull capacity was quicker and more accurate than that of MacDonell.

Professor H. V. Vallois (Paris) reported on *La Standardisation de certaines Mesurations des Os des Membres*.

Professor E. Tamagnini (Coimbra) stressed the need of standardizing not only measurements, but ways of using them.

Professor H. V. Vallois (Paris) insisted that standardization was absolutely essential to scientific progress, however much some might dislike adjusting themselves to international standards. Methods are more important than nomenclature.

Professor V. Suk (Brno) said that *exact* measurements were not necessarily *correct* measurements, owing to physiological changes, *e.g.* resulting from heavy work. Exact measurements of the bones of a living person were impossible; another example was the measurement of the noses of corpses before and after dissection.

Miss Tildesley replied that exact measurements were not demanded; only due allowance for variability.

Professor Kansu thought that the question did not become important until the university stage of education.

Professor K. Stolyhwo (Cracow) called attention to *Le problème des facteurs qui stabilisent la structure raciale des populations anthropologiques*. (MAN, 1946, 75.) The latter was discussed by Professor Kansu (Ankara), Dr. Valšík (Prague), Professor Tamagnini (Coimbra), Professor van Campenhout (Louvain), and Professor Sergi (Rome), and referred to a new Research Committee consisting of those speakers, with Professor Stolyhwo as *rapporteur*, and power to add to their number.

Notice was given on behalf of Docent Dr. Eugenia Stolyhwa (Cracow), who was unable to be present, of a discussion of *The necessity of an international organization to investigate the problem of the racial*

*differentiation of the length of the genital period in Man.* This was referred to the Organizing Committee of the Third Congress.

*The Study and Definition of Anthropological and Ethnological Terms.*—There was no formal report from Professor Herskovitz (Chicago), but Sir John Myres made a communication on the objects and method of the Committee. (MAN, 1946, 77.)

Professor H. J. Fleure, F.R.S., President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, gave an account of the new Edition of *Anthropological Notes and Queries*, of which he is editor-in-chief, in which the principal difficulties of current nomenclature are discussed. *Notes and Queries* was published seventy years ago for the guidance of untrained travellers and settlers. Terminology was fundamental, and full of difficulties. In physical anthropology it had been taken over by a British Association Committee. In technology especially a comparative glossary was needed, and should be considered at the next Congress independently.

These communications were discussed by Rev. Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, Professor Suk, M. Leroi-Gourhan, M. Arik, Professor Kansu, Dr. Lindblom, Professor Vallois, and Dr. Fortes.

Professor Radcliffe-Brown insisted that an agreed terminology must grow, and that the real trouble was more fundamental—the insufficiently advanced state of anthropological science, especially in social anthropology. The test of progress in any science is its standard terminology.

The Committee was reappointed with power to add to its number.

*The Conditions of Anthropological and Ethnological Teaching in the countries represented at the Congress, and the obstacles to the admission of these studies in public education.*—There was no formal report, but Dr. H. Fischer (Utrecht: *rapporteur*) described current practice in the Netherlands, and submitted textbooks written for Dutch schools. Before the war intervened, he had received reports from Professors Speiser (Switzerland), Stolyhwo (Poland), Kroeber (U.S.A.), Guha (India), Schapera (South Africa), Birket Smith (Denmark), and Sergi (Italy).

Professor Tamagnini (Coimbra) reported on the position in Portugal, Professor Kansu on recent progress in Turkey, Dr. Birket Smith on the anthropological degree-course at Copenhagen, and Professor Kroeber on courses in U.S.A.

Sir John Myres (Oxford) analysed the position of anthropology and ethnology in public education, and urged that students should acquire an inclusive foundation of knowledge of the whole science before proceeding to specialize (MAN, 1946, 79).

Professor A. P. Elkin (Sydney) sent a communication (MAN, 1946, 78) which was read in his absence by Miss Blackwood.

Dr. M. Fortes (Oxford) made a communication (MAN, 1946, 80) on the special training of administrators and candidates for the colonial services.

Rev. Dr. W. Schmidt (Vatican City) reviewed Swiss practice, and drew attention to the great development of *pseudo*-anthropological teaching at all levels under Nazi administration, which demanded serious and positive refutation.

Professor Radcliffe-Brown (Oxford) supported the geographical approach to the subject in education. He agreed with Dr. W. Schmidt's view that anthropologists had the duty of making the valid results of their researches known to governments and to the public: and illustrated his recommendations by the methods of introducing anthropology into the curriculum of Universities so different as Sydney, Capetown, Chicago, Edinburgh, Oxford, and Cambridge.

Sir John Myres (Oxford) gave further illustrations of this from the earlier history of anthropological teaching.

The Committee was reappointed with the omission of Professor Krause (Leipzig) and Professor Vuia (Roumania), and the addition of Professor Kansu (Turkey).

*Conservation of Aboriginal Peoples whose modes of life are of scientific interest.*—There was no formal report, but Professor Radcliffe-Brown (Oxford: *rapporteur*) gave examples of the breakdown of aboriginal modes of life in war-time: *e.g.* the spread of prostitution and crime in Tanga under enemy and allied occupation which it would take a generation to assess. In Australia damage was done by private individuals not by mass-action: in Western Australia disease had been a frequent cause of devastation: it moves slowly but acts rapidly. Australian soldiers returning from New Guinea were demanding a 'New Deal' for the natives, though conditions were fairly good before. In Brazil, great work was being done under the guidance of the Minister for Native Affairs. The work of the U.S. Indian Bureau was well known. No one could foresee the effects, on African native life, of the return of 250,000 Africans from service overseas. Culture-contact was a misleading term, for it did not suggest the disequilibrium involved. Western civilization was the most destructive force ever let loose on earth. The great need was for study of the conditions of social equilibrium.

Professor de Jonghe (Louvain: in the chair) spoke of the problem of the Congo pygmies, and of the Belgian government's attempt to limit their nomadism and dependence on their taller neighbours.

Dr. Locher (Leiden) said that the need was to conserve natives, not as relics of the past, but as an integral part of the world to come. He emphasized the native's complete misunderstanding of the forces

at work in the world, by a story of a Dutch New Guinea chief who offered to mediate between the Allies and the Japanese.

Professor A. P. Elkin (Sydney) sent a communication which was read in his absence by Miss Blackwood (MAN, 1946, 81).

The Rev. J. M. de Barandiarán (Spain) read a communication on *The Conservation of the Basque People* (MAN, 1946, 82).

Professor Birket Smith (Copenhagen) surveyed the conservation of Eskimo communities in Alaska, Canada, and Greenland. Even under the liberal policy of protection in Greenland, Eskimo culture continued to decay. A more dynamic policy was now being elaborated, and he agreed with the conclusions of Professor Elkin.

Mr. A. H. Brodrick (London) described his own efforts to rescue records of native culture by films, in Annam and elsewhere.

The Right Honourable Lord Hailey, representing the British Colonial Office, drew attention to the increase of the Colonial Research Fund from half a million sterling to one million annually; and, on the other hand, to the levelling effect of Sovietization on the diverse peoples of Central Asia. Alien ideas of land tenure had been a serious cause of social decay; but alienation of native lands was now carefully curtailed in the British Empire. Government could do much by negative action, as by restricting sales of land, and in some instances by exclusion of missionaries. But education, even in the vernacular, and also European medicine, was a great dissolving force. And the actions of governments had been a far less serious cause of decay than economic and industrial factors such as the motor bus, and interpenetration by other non-European peoples. Governments gave importance to anthropological research for their own practical purposes, not for its own sake. Government anthropologists had been appointed in many regions, and research by individual anthropologists was now widely welcomed. He was himself opposed to asking anthropologists untrained in administration, for advice as to policy. An administrator who knows a little Anthropology is better than an anthropologist who knows nothing of administration.

Professor Radcliffe-Brown distinguished between the problems of preserving records of primitive modes of life, and the effects of other cultures on it, and of preserving the aboriginal communities themselves. The latter applied to advanced as well as to primitive cultures, in face of Europeanization. Applied anthropology should benefit the whole world. He moved the discharge of the present Research Committee and the establishment of two independent Committees.

It was agreed to discharge the existing Research

Committee and to establish new Committees to report:—

(a) *on the preservation of records of primitive life and the effects of culture-contact on it:—*

Professor J. H. Hutton (Cambridge: *rapporteur*); Dr. R. O. Arık (Turkey); Dr. K. Birket Smith (Denmark); Professor Radcliffe-Brown (Oxford); Dr. Hogbin (S. Africa); Dr. D. Jenness (Canada); Professor A. L. Kroeber (U.S.A.); M. Leroi-Gourhan (France); Dr. Lindblom (Sweden); Professor Locher (Netherlands); Professor Martinez del Rio (Mexico); Dr. Schebesta (Netherlands); Professor Schapera (S. Africa).

(b) *on the application of anthropological and ethnological sciences to administration and public affairs:—*

Professor Locher (Netherlands: *rapporteur*); Dr. K. Birket Smith (Denmark); Professor A. P. Elkin (New South Wales); Professor C. Daryll Forde (London); Dr. M. Fortes (Oxford); Dr. Ghurye (British India); M. Griaule (France); Professor de Jonghe (Belgium); Professor Barbosa Sueira (Portugal).

*The Distribution of Megalithic Cultures and their Influence on Ancient and Modern Civilizations.*—No formal report was presented, but communications were made by Professor V. Gordon Childe (Edinburgh: MAN, 1946, 83) and Dr. R. A. S. Macalister (Eire: MAN, 1946, 84). These communications were referred to the Committee, which was reappointed with the omission of the name of Dr. Adolf Mahr (Eire).

#### OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The Abbé H. Breuil (Paris) gave a public lecture, with projections, on *The Prehistoric Cave Paintings of South Africa, and the problems which they raise* (MAN, 1946, 73).

Miss Amice M. Calverley (London) exhibited *Films of Roumanian Folk Dances and other Ceremonies* (MAN, 1946, 74).

#### VISITS TO UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONS AND DEPARTMENTS

On Sunday, 14 April, the delegates were received at the Ashmolean Museum by the Keeper of the Museum, Mr. K. T. Parker, and the Keeper of the Antiquarium, Mr. D. B. Harden.

On Monday, 15 April, the delegates were received at the Pitt Rivers Museum of Ethnography by the Curator, Mr. T. K. Penniman, the Lecturer in Ethnology, Miss Beatrice Blackwood, and Mr. J. S. P. Bradford, Assistant.

Proceeding thence to the Department of Human Anatomy, they were addressed by the Professor of Anatomy, Dr. W. E. Le Gros Clark, F.R.S., on the *Immediate Problems of Human Palaeontology* (MAN, 1946, 72), and by the Reader in Physical Anthropology, Mr. J. S. Weiner (MAN, 1946, 76), and were entertained at tea by the members of the Sub-Faculty of Anthropology.



## CONCLUDING MEETING

At the concluding meeting, on the evening of 15 April, the following expressions of thanks were adopted, on the proposal respectively of Dr. V. Suk, Dr. Johanna Felhoen Kraal, and Professor Radcliffe-Brown.—

‘The members of the Permanent Council assembled at New College, Oxford, express their most cordial thanks to the University of Oxford for the invitation from the Sub-Faculty of Anthropology to assemble there, to the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Sir Richard Livingstone, for his welcome, for his inspiring address, and for his hospitality in Corpus Christi College; to the Professor of Human Anatomy Dr. W. E. Le Gros Clark, F.R.S., and to the Reader in Physical Anthropology, Mr. J. S. Weiner, for the reception in their departments; to the Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Mr. T. K. Penniman; to Miss Beatrice Blackwood, Reader in Ethnology; and to Mr. J. S. P. Bradford, for their demonstrations of ethnographical material; to the Keeper of the Ashmolean, Mr. K. T. Parker, and the Keeper of the Antiquarium, Mr. D. B. Harden, for admission to the collections in their charge; to the Professor of Geography, Lt.-Col. Kenneth Mason, for the use of the Lecture Room and Hall of the School of Geography; and to all who have contributed to the successful conduct of this meeting.

‘To the Warden and Fellows of New College, Oxford, for permission to reside and conduct the business of the meeting in college; to Emeritus Professor Sir John Myres for his preparations for this meeting, and for many years of service to ‘Anthropological and Ethnological studies.’

The text of the speech of Dr. Felhoen Kraal follows:—

‘Mr. Chairman, Sir John, Mesdames et Messieurs; La voix féminine ne s’est pas fait entendre ici pendant notre conférence. Pour éviter qu’on en veuille à notre sexe d’avoir été exceptionnellement taciturne je demande la parole pour un instant et j’espère que les autres dames présentes ne seront pas fâchées si je parle aussi en leur nom. Cependant, ce n’est pas seulement au nom des femmes, mais je crois parler aussi bien au nom de tous ces messieurs si je prononce quelques mots de remerciements à l’adresse du collège que s’appelle nouveau mais

qui est en fait un collège très ancien et très vénérable. ‘Ce collège, Sir John, nous a fait une réception aussi chaleureuse et aussi hospitalière que nous n’avions pas eue possible après les années d’angoisse que tout le monde a dû subir.

‘Ce qui pour nous autres étrangers a été extrêmement reposant—quoique le programme fût très rempli—c’est l’esprit de calme et de bienveillance qui est si propice à la science.’

‘Partir, c’est mourir un peu; demain nous serons expulsés de ce paradis qui est votre collège et nous le regretterons infiniment, mais nous prendrons avec nous un beau souvenir qui nous soutiendra dans les mois futurs quand nous serons rentrés dans nos pays respectifs, qui sans doute demandront de nous des efforts encore assez durs avant que chez nous aussi la science puisse trouver un milieu aussi paisible que le procure ce collège-ci.

‘Ce collège a un motto très charmant: *Manners makyth Man*. On pourrait traduire ce motto en termes anthropologiques—et j’espère que sur cette terminologie et cette interprétation tous ceux qui sont présents pourront être d’accord—on pourrait donc traduire “*Manners makyth Man*” par: chaque pays a ses propres manières, ses propres traditions pour former ses hommes.

‘La manière dont New College a formé ses disciples, nous pouvons en juger par les résultats; par les exemples avec lesquels nous avons eu l’honneur d’entrer (où bien de rentrer) en contact. Sir John, l’autre jour votre collègue suédois a déjà fait vos éloges qui nous ont été prises pour ainsi dire du cœur. Puis je ajouter aujourd’hui que la manière dont New College forme la jeune génération nous a frappé si agréablement dans les personnes de vos petits-fils. Puis je vous remercie au nom de tout le Conseil Permanent et de ceux qui, grâce à votre bienveillance ont pu assister au présent meeting de ce que vous avez bien voulu faire pour nous en nous montrant en vos petits-fils, Douglas and Roderick Myres, le prototype du gentilhomme de science anglais.’

Sir John and Lady Myres desire to express to the foreign members of the Permanent Council their grateful appreciation of a gift of choice flowers.

On Tuesday, 16 April, the delegates left Oxford for London by train, and were received at the Royal Anthropological Institute (MAN, 1946, 85).

**IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS OF HUMAN PALÆONTOLOGY.** By Professor W. E. Le Gros Clark, F.R.S.  
*Department of Anatomy, University of Oxford*

**72** Those whose acquaintance with the study of fossil man is mainly limited to popular discussions in the illustrated press, or to the echoes of somewhat acrimonious controversies between anatomists or anthropologists, may well be excused if they

assume that, during the last ten years or so, little fresh evidence in this field of science has come to light. But they would be mistaken. Probably due to a more scientifically cautious attitude, anatomists and anthropologists seem less ready than formerly

to draw far-reaching conclusions from fragmentary fossils, at least in popular print, so that new finds tend to gain less publicity. However, during the few years before the beginning of the last war, some quite remarkable discoveries were made in many parts of the world, and now that the war is over and the opportunity arises to turn our attention to peaceful pursuits, it is important to try and assess the significance of these fossils, and to fit them together into a comprehensive scheme of human evolution. In the short time at my disposal, I should like to direct attention to certain problems which particularly seem to require attention.

*The position of Neanderthal Man in Human Evolution.*—Shortly before the beginning of the war, reports appeared on remains of Neanderthal Man from Southern Italy (Blanc, 1939), Southern Uzbekistan (Debetz, 1940; Weidenreich, 1945) and Palestine (McCown and Keith, 1939). This accession of material, together with a critical review on the age of Neanderthal Man by Zeuner which appeared in 1940, leads one to ask if it is yet possible to determine finally whether this extinct race represented a phase in the evolution of *Homo sapiens*, or whether it was only a collateral specialization having nothing to do with the origin of modern types of man. On the whole, the evidence at present seems to be in favour of the latter interpretation, but there is still far from unanimous agreement. One method of approaching the problem would be to assess carefully the anatomical characters of the Neanderthal remains listed by Zeuner in his comparative chronological studies, and to see whether there is any evidence of a definite trend in morphological development. A glance at Zeuner's tables suggests that in the Neanderthal remains of later date some of the extreme Neanderthaloid characters were more strongly developed than in those of earlier date. If this is really the case, it provides strong evidence that Neanderthal Man was a collateral specialization, and the absence of fossil forms intermediate between Neanderthal Man and *Homo sapiens* at the end of the climatic phase represented by Würm I may be taken to show that Neanderthal Man became extinct by that date. There is thus room for an intensive comparative study of the known Neanderthal remains. There is also need for a careful comparison of the remains of Neanderthal Man in Europe and the Near East with Neanderthaloid types discovered in Java (*Homo soloensis*) in order to determine how significant may be the resemblance in cranial characters which they show.

*Acheulian Man.*—The problem of Neanderthal Man is directly bound up with that of Acheulian Man. It is probably true that the almost complete lack of reliable evidence on the nature of Acheulian Man is

the most serious gap in our knowledge of the later phases of human evolution. In 1938, a report appeared on the undoubted fragments of Acheulian Man from Swanscombe in Kent. Their dating is exceptionally well attested on stratigraphical, archaeological, and faunal evidence. Unfortunately the fragments consist only of an occipital and left parietal bone, though they are extremely well preserved. The main point about these bones is that they show no Neanderthaloid features and that, apart from their unusual thickness, they appear to be closely similar to those of modern man. If this is confirmed by the accumulation of further evidence, it suggests an antiquity for *Homo sapiens* considerably greater than many students of human evolution have supposed. Clearly, there is great need to know more about Acheulian Man, and when intensive excavations at palaeolithic sites are being contemplated by archaeologists, we would urge the important claims of Acheulian deposits.

*The Problem of Pithecanthropus.*—Shortly before the war, some most important new discoveries of *Pithecanthropus* were made in Java (see numerous papers by v. Koenigswald in *Proc. K. Akad. Wet. Amsterdam*, 1936-38). Some lengthy and comprehensive monographs on *Sinanthropus* by Weidenreich have also appeared in *Palaeontologia Sinica*. There are now available from Java portions of the crania of four adult individuals (as well as the cranium of a small infant—the Modjokerto skull), and from Choukoutien portions of the crania of fourteen individuals. One result of this accession of material is the demonstration that these early forms of mankind were remarkably variable. For example, in *Sinanthropus* the cranial capacity is stated to vary from 850 to 1,300 c.c. Another point which has been established is that *Pithecanthropus* and *Sinanthropus* are so closely similar in their osteological characters that, according to v. Koenigswald and Weidenreich (*Nature*, 144, 1939, p. 926) they are to be regarded as 'related to each other in the same way as two different races of mankind.' This being so, it would seem better to include them both in the same genus *Pithecanthropus*, but perhaps distinguishing them specifically as *P. erectus* and *P. pekinesis*.

A feature of special importance in reference to these primitive types of mankind from the Far East is the apparently modern character of the limb bones. It must be admitted that only a few of these have so far come to light, and they are very fragmentary. But such evidence as is available seems to confirm the implication of Dubois' original discovery—that, in spite of the remarkably primitive characters of the brain, skull, jaws, and teeth, the limbs were as shapely and refined as those of *Homo sapiens* of to-day. If this is so, it clearly tends to emphasize how early



must have been the divergence of the line of human evolution from the line which led to the evolutionary development of the modern anthropoid apes.

*Man-Apes or Ape-Men?*—In 1924, the famous Taungs skull, *Australopithecus africanus*, was discovered in Bechuanaland, and the various (and sometimes conflicting) opinions which have been advanced in regard to the significance of this very important fossil will be well known to all anthropologists. In 1936 and the immediately following years more remains of a similar kind were brought to light by the veteran palæontologist Dr. Robert Broom. From time to time short descriptions of these remains have been published, and now, within the last few weeks, an extensive monograph on 'The South African Fossil Ape-Man (*Australopithecinae*)' has been completed by Broom and Schepers. This monograph will require careful study before the conclusions to which it gives rise can be evaluated. It may be stated at once, however, that while the cranial characters of these extinct forms (*Australopithecus*, *Plesianthropus*, and *Paranthropus*) correspond closely (but by no means in every detail) with those of the modern anthropoid apes, the dentition and certain of the limb bones show human features to a most remarkable degree. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of these discoveries: indeed, they might well be claimed to be the most important finds in the history of human palæontology since Dubois presented *Pithecanthropus* to the world over fifty years ago. The question now inevitably arises whether these fossil Primates have a direct or indirect ancestral relationship to *Homo sapiens*, or whether they are not rather representatives of an extinct line of apes which, in their teeth and limbs, showed an astonishing parallelism with the line of human evolution. And if the former is the true interpretation, should they be regarded as advanced types of man-like apes, or exceedingly primitive types of ape-like men? Few anatomists are likely to agree that they come within the category of 'men,' if only because the size of their brains was relatively no greater than that of the modern large apes, but the blend of hominid and simian characters in the teeth and limbs nevertheless remains a most striking feature. It is a matter of the highest importance that more limb-material of the *Australopithecinae* should be obtained for examination, and it is Dr. Broom's opinion that such material would surely be forthcoming if excavations were systematically carried out on the sites of Kromdraai and Sterkfontein. It is worth while quoting the words used by Broom in the concluding section of his monograph on the *Australopithecinae*—'In the near future many more specimens are almost certain to be found. Hundreds of tons of beautiful bone breccia are waiting to be excavated'—When

'some wealthy man or corporation undertakes the systematic exploration of our deposits, as the Rockefeller Institute has done at Pekin and the Carnegie Institute in Java. . . . I think one can safely affirm that within three or four years we will discover more of the origin of Man than has been revealed during the past hundred. Practically all the discoveries described in the present work . . . were made by me in about two years, working almost singlehanded. Not only had I to find all the specimens. I had to develop them out of the matrix, give all the descriptions, and make all the drawings.' In view of this emphatic statement made by a palæontologist of the highest repute and the most extensive experience, it will appear remarkable if funds are not eventually forthcoming to collect this fossil material which may have the most profound significance for the problem of Man's origin.

*Dryopithecinae*.—Between twenty and thirty species of the extinct genus of apes, *Dryopithecus*, have now been recognized, and, as is well known, they date from Miocene and Pliocene times. The remarkable variability which the dentition shows in these species suggests that they represent a phase of active differentiation, leading to the production of a number of separate evolutionary radiations which presumably culminated in the appearance of the modern genera of anthropoid apes. Whether the ancestral group which led to the line of human evolution is also to be sought among the *Dryopithecinae* has been much discussed, and the view has been accepted by many that the *Dryopithecine* dentition (in spite of its wide variability) was too specialized to provide a basis for the evolutionary derivation of the human dentition. However, in reports on fossil apes discovered by the Yale-Cambridge India Expedition of 1935 in the Siwalik Hills of India (where so much *Dryopithecus* material had previously been obtained), reference is made to two genera, *Bramapithecus* and *Ramapithecus*, in which the structural approach of the dentition to the human type appears to be remarkably close. Indeed, it has been suggested that these two genera should be allocated to the Hominidæ rather than the Simiidae. Judging from the illustrations of the teeth in the reports on these recent fossils the latter are of supreme importance not only because of their human characteristics but because they provide a most significant link between the Siwalik fossil primates and the *Australopithecinae* of South Africa. Of *Dryopithecus* and allied genera from the Siwaliks, nothing is known except the teeth and jaws. We have no information about their cranial anatomy and practically none about their limb bones. And yet, in order to assess the significance of these extinct primates in their relation to human evolution, it is essential to have such material

for comparative study. It is much to be hoped, therefore, that expeditions will in the near future be organized with the purpose of making an intensive search for this material.

*The Palaeontology of the Primate Brain.*—One of the most distinctive trends in the evolution of the Primates is the progressive expansion of the brain, an expansion which was initiated at a very early date—as far back as the Eocene. But there are very serious gaps in the evolutionary series which remain to be filled. The earliest primate brain of which we have any detailed knowledge is represented by a fine endocranial cast of the eocene lemur, *Adapis parisiensis* (Le Gros Clark, 1945). Although the brain of this small fossil primate shows a number of primitive features, it is already far advanced in comparison with the brains of the tree-shrews (the small insectivores which undoubtedly represent the nearest approach to the ancestral stock from which higher primates were initially derived), even taking into account the curiously lemuroid tupaoid of oligocene times, *Anagale gobiensis*. Another big gap exists in the transition which must have occurred from the lemuroid or tarsoid brain to the pithecoïd brain. For, although the brain of *Tarsius* does show some interesting simian features, it is still far removed from the most primitive monkey brain known—that of the marmoset. As regards the later phases in the evolutionary development of the human brain, a certain amount of evidence is available from endocranial casts of fossil man and apes. A word of caution is perhaps necessary for those enthusiasts who may be inclined to draw too far-reaching conclusions from the examination of such casts, for the study of endocranial casts in modern apes and man and their comparison with the actual brains have shown that they do not give very reliable information of the sulcal pattern (except over very limited areas of the cerebral hemisphere): see, for example, the fine monograph on endocranial casts of the primates produced during the war by Hirschler (1942). It may be, of course, that the sulcal pattern is reproduced more faithfully in the endocranial casts of extinct forms, but, even if this is so, the interpretation of the meaning of local depressions and elevations on the surface of the cast is bound to involve a personal factor to a very considerable extent. In order to assess the extent of this personal factor, it would be an interesting experiment to invite a number of neurological anatomists of recognized experience to make an independent study of the endocranial casts of say, *Australopithecus* and *Pithecanthropus*, and to compare their interpretations to see how far agreement can be secured in the identification of specific sulci and convolutions.

*Pleistocene Chronology.*—One of the most important

considerations in the interpretation of the significance of a human fossil is its chronological position. This applies even more forcibly to-day when fossil men and apes are being discovered in greater numbers over wide parts of the earth's surface. For example, the exact position which the Australopithecinae occupy in the story of human evolution depends a great deal on whether they are referable to the middle Pleistocene or the late Pliocene. It becomes a matter of some urgency, therefore, that geologists and archaeologists should reach agreement on the criteria which are to be used for establishing the 'date' of later Tertiary fossils. Fortunately a great deal of intensive work on this very problem has been carried out during the last few years, and with a considerable degree of success. We may mention specially the comprehensive monograph of Dr. F. E. Zeuner on the Pleistocene Period (1945), the important paper 'On a World Correlation of the Pleistocene' by Paterson (1941), and the illuminating account of 'Early Man and Pleistocene Stratigraphy in Southern and Eastern Asia' by Movius (1944). Points of difference do occur in these surveys, particularly in regard to the definition of the Pliocene-Pleistocene junction, and it is to be hoped that these may be soon solved by mutual discussion.

#### PLANNING FOR THE DISCOVERY OF FOSSIL MAN

It is often assumed that the discovery of fossil human remains is essentially a haphazard affair, depending solely on chance, and it must be admitted that in the past this has often been the case. Several unique specimens have been procured simply because there happened to be some enthusiastic amateur making use of the opportunities afforded by the working of a gravel pit, but it is irksome to think of the amount of valuable material which must have been lost simply because nobody was present at the time of their exposure who could appreciate their importance. However, the search for ancient types of man need not be a haphazard affair. There are plenty of examples of the palaeontological rewards which can be obtained by deliberate planning, and even at this moment important sites are awaiting excavation with the practical certainty of yielding a rich return. We need only mention the caves in South Africa where, as Dr. Broom affirms, there is a plentiful deposit of bone breccia whose excavation and study would almost certainly produce much more of the important Australopithecine material—perhaps even entire skeletons. Here, however, the human palaeontologist is helpless without funds to finance well-organized plans for excavation at promising sites. There seems, therefore, to be an urgent need for raising funds which can be used for this purpose. There is perhaps another way whereby the casual loss of valuable

fossil material may be to some extent avoided, and that is by methods of popular education. The enthusiastic amateur, to whom reference has already been made, should not be left to appear spontaneously—he should be deliberately cultivated, particularly among those groups of people whose ordinary daily business brings them into contact with excavational work. I would suggest that the Royal Anthropological Institute or the Society of Antiquaries (or some such body) might have a panel of popular lecturers who could be called upon for this purpose. A committee of geologists and archaeologists might prepare a list of quarrying sites where remains of prehistoric man have been found or are likely to be found, and arrangements then made (through the industrial firms concerned) to give to the employees a course of lectures and demonstrations on the sort of material which they might be expected to come across and on its significance for the study of human evolution. It is a matter of common experience that the man in the street is often intensely interested in this kind of subject, and there is thus every reason to suppose that (providing the right type of lecturer were selected) the response would be good. Indeed, if such an organization were put into effect, the accession of archaeological and human palaeontological material might soon be quite phenomenal.

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# THE SO-CALLED BUSHMAN ART: PAINTINGS AND ENGRAVINGS ON ROCK IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE PROBLEMS THEY SUGGEST. *By the Abbé Henri Breuil*

**73** The Abbé has lately spent two and a half years in South Africa, studying and copying paintings in the rock-shelters of the Orange Free State and Transvaal, as well as those in Basutoland. Though the latest paintings can be easily dated as belonging to Victorian times, the question of date for the earliest is still a mystery.

Near the greater part of the engravings seen, there were no signs of Late Stone Age stations, but it is fairly usual to find them the centre of very important Middle Stone Age sites. Certain of these engravings near Vereeniging are covered by a formation of black earth, which can only have been formed during a pluvial period. The style and technique of the figures and their patina are also extremely different; lineal engraved figures are rather often covered by 'pecked' figures, which in their turn bear entirely geometrical ones, the latter being much later than those found under the black earth.

On the other hand, the group of conventionalized figures at Dreikopsland, etc. (Griqualand West), are not very much earlier than their neighbouring European inscriptions.

As for the painted rocks, it is already known that part of those in Rhodesia belong to an advanced

period of the Middle Stone Age. Those in the Orange Free State and other parts of the Union are constantly associated with various stages of the Late Stone Age. But the length of the latter is not as short as is sometimes said; moreover, the Middle Stone Age seems to begin before the last pluvial period (Würmian) and to be prolonged into the period of the great drop in sea level due to this last glaciation. The considerable thickness of certain deposits of the Late Stone Age contains no trace of intruding civilizations, either Bantu, or exotic; which suggests an antiquity of some thousands of years, comparable to the whole of our post-Paleolithic. We should therefore not be surprised when we meet, amongst these paintings, subjects undoubtedly representing non-African elements originating from the Mediterranean, or the Persian Gulf.

These paintings seem to belong to a fairly advanced period in the evolution of that art, the origin of which remains still more or less mysterious, and indeed, the most northern known signs of it are in the north of Tanganyika, half-way to Ethiopia. But if this art is to be linked with either the pastoral art of the Sahara, or the frescoes of the late Quaternary in Spain, we must await new discoveries, without which these relationships remain insoluble.

**NOTES ON THE CALUȘARI DANCERS OF ROUMANIA. RECORDED BY CINE-CAMERA IN REMOTE VILLAGES IN THE WHEAT- AND MAIZE-GROWING PLAINS OF WALACHIA.** *By Amice Calverley*

**74** IN the Spring of 1939 I went to Roumania with the intention of recording as much as I could of the magnificent peasant art and folk-lore still extant, before war put a stop to such research.

One of my objectives was the Calușari, and with the aid of M. Harry Brauner, of București (who had worked with M. Brailoiu), I started by contacting the teams which had come to England in 1935 to dance in the International Folk Dance Festival held in London. They were working in București, and were members of the Police Force and Tramcar Staff. I learned that they all came from the little village of Padureți, south of Pitești, in the Province of Arges. I also located other teams in the nearby villages of Făfani and Slobozia, and planned therefore to be in that area during the Feast of Whitsun—the time of the Calușari dancing. From these sources the cinema records were made. I have also, for comparison, records of the dance as seen in București and Pitești, where, though the dancing is superb, it will be seen that the form has been adapted to the more sophisticated outlook of city life.

*Note on Dance Contest*

Where two teams of Calușari from different villages meet on the road there used in ancient times to be a fight to the death; to-day, instead, there is a dance contest. The team judged the winner has the right to prohibit the losers from dancing in any town or village which they wish to reserve as their own—to wit, the richer hunting grounds. For this reason I was certain that the minute village of Făfani would be of interest, as I had seen a team which came from there dancing magnificently in Pitești.

*The Calușari: General Description*

The team consists of: The Captain—'Vataf,' Adjutant—'Ajutant,' The Mute, Standard-bearer, Musicians (fiddler and cobsa player), and two or three pairs of dancers. The Vataf and Ajutant are dancers. 'Cal' in Roumanian means 'horse,' Caluș = little horse. In Slobozia the Vataf called them 'Cai' = horses),

During the sixty days of fasting preceding Whitsun (which includes abstention from sexual intercourse as well as from certain foods), the Calușari withdraw from the village to a retreat, usually in the woods, where they perform the initiation ceremonies and prepare for the Whitsun dancing. All must give implicit obedience and loyalty to the Vataf.

The Dancers are easily recognized by their dress. Their white linen tunics are bound across with brilliantly coloured woollen braid, their hats are

gaily decorated, and they usually have small bells tied to the ankles or below the knees (these are very skilfully controlled and only sound when desired, despite the intense energy and speed of the dance); each dancer carries a heavy staff (about 4 feet 6 inches long) and a kerchief. They wear the pointed raw-hide shoes of the country bound to the legs with long brown woollen strings. They dance in pairs in many of the figures.

The Mute is masked; he is dumb for the duration of the pre-Whitsun fast and the ten days of the dancing, during which time he is under a vow of silence, other than inarticulate noises. He appears uncontrollable by human laws, and, as seen in the dance-mime 'Rasboi,' he has power to enter *through* walls; in this dance the complete unawareness of the other actors with regard to the Mute would point to his being a spirit or god, influencing but invisible. Moreover, the peasants watching showed no resentment when he seized hold of the women, or entered their cottages, taking what he wished without hindrance.

The mask is of animal type, I have seen both goat and bull forms. In Pitești, a team from Făfani had a mask made from the freshly-flayed skin of a kid worn bloody-side outwards, with holes torn for the eyes, nose, and mouth through which the hair was dragged to form lashes and whiskers, the tail making a beard—a truly ghastly sight! In some instances horns were worn. In Slobozia (a very poor village) the mask was just a rough piece of black material with holes for eyes and mouth.

The Mute carries a 'sword.' In the more primitive form found in remote villages it is shaped like a phallus (much resembling the phallus sign in Egyptian hieroglyphs), and it is regarded as such; though in cities or towns it is replaced by a sword or short stick. In Slobozia the Mute also carried a 'cioca' or crook: this represented the female element, it was shaped like the plough in Egyptian hieroglyphs, minus the cross-bar. The cioca was covered with a binding of red rag within which were bound pieces of garlic, one for each member of the team. The rest of the dress is intended to be comic, and may be anything from an old frock-coat to dilapidated military finery,—in no case is the Mute clad in the white linen clothes of the Roumanian peasant—he is a foreigner.

The Standard-bearer wears the usual peasant dress. He is frequently an older man and was probably one of the dancers in his youth. The Standard is a stripped sapling some 20 feet high, with a kerchief bound over the point. Within the kerchief, as with the crook, pieces of garlic are tied—one for each man in the team

In Fălfani, at the foot of the Standard, there was a lump of rock salt and a basket containing garlic and sprigs of basil (also used in purification rites in the Orthodox Church): at the conclusion of the dance the garlic and basil were distributed as health and fertility talismans—for the salt I found no explanation.

*The Musicians* are Gipsies, as are all musicians in Roumania (other than shepherd pipers, who play for their own solace). The instruments are usually a violin and a cobsa (which is like a small zither played with two hammers).

### *The Main Dance*

The Main Dance consists of a great number of figures interspersed with a march, from left to right, in single file round the Standard. The Vataf frequently shouts commands to the dancers and utters magic rhymes, the words of which have no meaning in Roumanian: 'Hăp! Hăp! Hălișa!—a șa, șa, șa, 'șă!' recurred many times.

Between the figures the Mute performs antics by himself, thus giving the dancers a rest.

In the Slobozia version of the dance (which is intended as much for the fertility of the land as for human fertility), the dancers formed a pyramid, centreing round the Standard, climbing up on each other's shoulders to a height of three men; this was done three times, symbolizing the piles of corn stacked high in a good harvest. There were also figures with the action of sowing and of reaping; the Mute, moreover, ploughed the ground with the phallus, as well as charging with it among the watching women. Early in the dance, the Mute rushed into a cottage and came out with a pot filled with water, this he emptied over his head as he danced, and then threw it high so that it broke as it fell. A parallel to this is found in the funeral rites: a pot is broken under the bier as the body is borne out of the house—this being done to 'break' Death, lest he stay to take others in the dwelling. In the dance it was Drought which was being broken. Another detail recorded is the Mute castrating a puppy with his teeth during the dance.

In Fălfani, the Mute, in one figure, danced backwards with a 2-feet long extended phallus, leading the other dancers round the Standard; and in Padurești the Mute had a concealed bladder attached to a similar phallus with which he libated the on-lookers. (This was not recorded by cinema, it being late, and the light insufficient.)

At the conclusion of the dance a collection was taken from the audience, the Calușari then took the road to the next village, leaping and dancing as they ran, the Standard carried between them at a slant.

In București, this and other ancient customs are

being suppressed—it is considered that they portray Roumania as a backward nation. However, they are still performed, but with frequent Police interference—which is not so vigilant when it happens to be the Police team of Calușari!

*Note.*—The peasants of Slobozia were not of Roumanian race, but were Gipsies. The name 'Slobozia' means 'The Freed,' and in this case they were descendants of freed serfs belonging to the Sturdza family. On all the great estates families of Gipsies were part of the inheritance, they were the artisans of the establishment—blacksmiths, woodworkers, gardeners, lime-burners, etc. The Gipsies were Roumanian in so far as domicile for centuries was concerned: their customs are those of Roumania.

### *The Battle. 'Rasboi'—A Dance-mime Performed by the Calușari*

The 'Rasboi,' a dance-mime based on a battle between a Turk and a Russian, was recorded in the village of Slobozia on the same day as the main Calușari dance; two teams from the same village combined for the performance, and there were therefore two Mutes. The Musicians played a different tune from that belonging to the main dance, and in both cases the tune is repeated continuously, without variation, throughout the dance. There was no dialogue.

Four of the Calușari formed a square, holding their staves horizontally to make the walls of a Castle (they danced in the same place all through the mime). The Mutes brought two towels from a nearby cottage and hung them over the staves to indicate windows; then a chair and an old sack, for carpet, was added—the Castle was furnished. The Mutes alternately took possession with much horse-play and buffoonery.

A procession then appeared, headed by the Turkish Overlord. His face was whitened (to represent a Turk of noble family), and he was very dignified in manner. He brandished a whip with which he lashed the crowd as he passed, and smoked a pipe (a bull-rush soaked in paraffin). An armed guard and servants followed him.

The Turk took formal possession of the Castle, entering by the door (one of the staves opened to let him in) he sat solemnly enthroned on the chair or made excursions into the surrounding country, lashing the audience with the whip—probably indicating the collecting of tribute.

Soon another procession appeared. A Bride for the Turk (a male actor, also one of the Calușari); she was closely veiled in the Turkish manner and carried a distaff with which she spun unceasingly. The Mutes were in close attendance as she was brought to her new home and husband, who proceeded rapidly to make her acquaintance. Soon they settled down and he would take her for a dignified stroll in the

Castle garden—they were peaceful and happy until the invading Russian appeared.

The Russian is shown drunken and brutal, half-clad in filthy red rags, swilling vodka from a bottle, spitting, and throwing the liquor at the audience or at his enemy the Turk. He also had a whip with a long lash. In the train of the Russian came a Priest of the Orthodox Church riding in a wheelbarrow, reading the Testament (a newspaper), and dragging his begging box after him. His beard was so generous that at one point some of the Calușari started thrashing it!

The Russian gained access to the Castle and raped the wife while the Turk was away collecting tribute. On the Turk's return a fight ensued, the protagonists lashing at each other with the whips. This was repeated with variations, the wife becoming complacent to the Russian, while the Turk carried on the battle and still collected tribute desperately. Even the Priest attacked the wife, but was discovered by the Turk, who made him pay for the insult, catching him by the begging box and driving the old reprobate all round the field and whipping him unmercifully. The Russian came to the rescue of the Priest, who took refuge on a nearby roof, where he acted the part of God Almighty with the Ten Commandments!

At this point there was the sound of a shot. I turned to find the dead body of the Turk lying on the ground with the wife covering the face with a cloth. The wretched woman keened and mourned over the body, abused by the Mutes and the Russian, but persisting in her duty to the dead. The Russian fetched the Priest from the roof, and ordered him to perform the burial rites; the Priest at first refused, but eventually conducted a travesty of the Christian burial service over the body of an infidel Turk! The Russian sat on his victim's head during the latter part of the ceremony. The body was then borne aloft on the shoulders of the Calușari who had represented the Castle, and they moved away, the whole village following as though at a real funeral.

#### *The Initiation Rites*

With this same group of dancers (Slobozia) I was able to record some of the initiation rites. The Vataf agreed to perform these at the request of M. Brauner, and, though I was astonished at being permitted to see ritual of such a type, I do not think there is any reason to doubt the authenticity, taking into consideration the unanimity of action in the performance, and the fact that there was no time for prearrangement. It is probable, however, that this is only part of the full ritual.

The rite as shown was in four sections:

#### 1. The binding of the garlic and kerchief, and raising of the Standard

The whole group gathered round the head of the Standard which was held low, the base resting on the ground. The Vataf took a bulb of garlic for each man in the team and arranged them round the head of the Standard to form a knob, this he covered with a kerchief, binding it so that the corners fell free. (The Padureți Vataf said that each man should pass under the Standard so that the kerchief should brush him to give powers of healing and fertility.) The Standard was then raised, all holding it and bearing it forward as it came upright.

#### 2. Processing round the Standard

The Mute raised the wooden phallus and placed the point against the Standard, thus making an arch; the Fiddler did likewise with his bow, but only for a moment, for he joined the rest of the company in a procession which passed under the phallic arch and circled round the Standard: the musicians playing and the dancers linked together by their staves to form a segmented chain. This circling was repeated some seven times—possibly more.

#### 3. Passing the Standard over the dancers

The dancers then lay face downwards on the ground and the Vataf, bearing the Standard, Musicians, and Mute stepped over the closely packed, prostrate figures, the Mute hitting the men as he passed. This was repeated a number of times.

#### 4. The Bastinado

In the last episode each member of the group in turn lay down on his back, his feet were imprisoned between a couple of staves held by two of the dancers. The Vataf holding two staves together in his hands beat the back of the legs from thigh to heel, finishing with two terrific blows on the soles of the feet. The Mute chipped in with the phallus, beating the men likewise; the Vataf objected and tried to drive the Mute off, but in every instance the men received strokes on the soles from the phallus. The Mute also had to take his turn, but not submissively as the others—he had to be caught, and escaped once, but finally, after the Musicians and Vataf had undergone their turn, he was forced to receive the bastinado with frantic struggles. This completed the ritual as shown.

#### *Healing Dance in Fălfani*

On the Sunday following Whitsun, after the main dance, scores of sick babes were brought by their mothers. One after another in rapid succession, they were laid on the ground for the Vataf to dance over, the Mute squatted by the side and clapped his hands softly. The number of times the dancer leapt across each babe seemed to vary—possibly it related to the



degree of sickness. Unfortunately my camera jammed while recording this so that I have not sufficient material to verify if there were variants.

After the Healing, the Calușari joined hands with the girls of the village and they danced a short *hora* round the Standard, distributed the basil and garlic, and leapt off down the road to another village.

I was told that certain days of the week are unlucky—this affects all aspects of peasant life, including the Calușari, who do not dance on Monday or Friday for this reason, even during the ten days of Whitsun. The usual day for peasant dancing is Sunday, and on Sunday the weddings take place, though not during Fasts.

#### *Masked Plays in Bucovina*

The remainder of this film shows a portion of two village plays performed in the New Year in Bucovina.

1. A Fertility Play acted by the boys of the village, who go from house to house. The words are in primitive rhymed verse in which shrewd personal and topical thrusts are interpolated.

The characters are: a Jew and a Hobby-horse, these go on ahead to drive the bargain with the owner of each house in which the play is to be performed. The main company follows, a Bride and Bridegroom, and the 'Old Men'—*Moșele*—who look like gnomes with fantastic beards and hats,

humped backs and enormous noses from which bottles were hung to catch the drips! They brought with them a cart-wheel which broke (this represented the sun); the more they tried to mend it, the more broken it became. The Old Men each carried a hay-fork and acted a pantomime of tilling, sowing, and reaping. As with the Calușari, a pyramid of men was raised, also to bring increase to the harvest.

Lastly came a Bear and a Gipsy. The bear danced and then died; the Gipsy tried various means to bring it to life again, during which the dead bear clutches the remaining fragment of the broken wheel. The Gipsy dragged the bear round from left to right, then, reversing, he turned *with* the sun: this revived the bear and ended the play.

2. Nativity Play. In the same district the boys act Nativity plays, these also have an 'Old Man' much the same as in the former play; he holds the Star of Bethlehem and carries a curious wooden pipe.

In this area, also in the New Year, curious Fertility toys are seen: a simple mechanism makes two cocks peck alternately; in another form two primitive figures hit a block alternately with extended phallus; the same type has a variant in which the Sun (with white phallus) and Moon (with black phallus) hit a Crucifix—Day and Night causing the mortality of Christ.

## COMMUNICATIONS MADE TO THE PERMANENT COUNCIL AT OXFORD: 12-15 APRIL

Sur les recherches des facteurs qui stabilisent la structure raciale des populations anthropologiques.

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By Professor Kazimierz Stołyhwo

L'un des grands problèmes principaux, qui intéresse tout spécialement l'anthropologie contemporaine, est sans aucun doute le problème de la différenciation du genre humain, en des groupes de subdivision secondaire, que nous appelons les races humaines.

En examinant ce problème, les auteurs particuliers avancent des différentes hypothèses en ce qui concerne la question, quels sont les facteurs, quels sont les moments, qui contribuent au phénomène de la naissance dans les limites de l'espèce *Homo* des groupes divers d'individus, qui se caractérisent par un ensemble spécifique des caractères héréditaires, un ensemble, qui nous sert justement de base pour saisir ces groupes d'individus comme des races particulières.—Les hypothèses susmentionnées se basent pour la plupart sur des prémisses strictement théorétiques. En caractères des facteurs, qui conduisent à la différenciation du genre humain, on envisage les facteurs qui sont admis dans les autres sciences biologiques comme les causes qui conditionnent la variabilité des organismes vivants en général. Ce serait donc d'une part les phénomènes de la mutation et du métissage qui dans tout le monde des êtres vivants amènent à la naissance des nouveaux caractères et des formes nouvelles. De l'autre part des facteurs de sélection, qui surtout dans des conditions spéciales de l'isolement par exemple, de l'isolement géographique, parviennent dans un plus ou moins grand délai de temps à maintenir les formes biologiques, qui démontrent certains

caractères, qui leur facilitent une adaptation aux conditions du milieu, tandis que les formes, qui manquent de ces caractères, sont condamnées à une élimination plus ou moins complète.—Comme nous le savons bien, on doit souligner en outre, qu'à côté du facteur de la sélection biologique nous constatons dans les populations anthropologiques l'existence des facteurs de la sélection sociologique qui peuvent influencer le développement du groupe soumis à la sélection dans une direction quelque fois conforme aux effets, de la sélection biologique,—mais parfois dans une direction complètement opposée. De plus, vu le phénomène de la domestication, qui est le résultat de la vie de l'homme dans les conditions du milieu domestique de la culture humaine, l'influence immédiate des facteurs de la sélection biologique devient de plus en plus restreinte. Les recherches visant à vérifier la justice des hypothèses avancées par les biologistes en ce qui concerne la valeur de l'influence des facteurs particuliers qui conditionnent vraisemblablement la variabilité des êtres vivants, sont très difficiles—nous le savons bien,—même dans le cas de recherches sur les matériaux botaniques ou zoologiques,—malgré le fait qu'en travaillant sur ces matériaux le naturaliste peut appliquer un instrument de recherches si parfait que ne l'est l'expérience, et ça dans les conditions, qui ne sont pas compliquées par l'influence des facteurs sociologiques. Le travail de l'anthropologiste est beaucoup plus difficile vu les moments suivants:

1. Le développement et les transformations de l'homme, durant sa vie individuelle, sont déjà, au point de vu des possibilités d'un observateur individuel, si

lentes qu'ils lui rendent son travail et surtout la précision de conclusions difficile. D'autant plus difficiles sont les recherches anthropologiques sur les phénomènes de la variabilité non pas d'un individu humain, mais de l'espèce Homo, des phénomènes qui se produisent très lentement et qui exigent des grands délais de temps pour fixer les manifestations dont ils sont cause.

2. L'espèce humaine est—ce que j'ai déjà mentionné si dessus—le domaine non seulement de l'activité des facteurs biologiques mais simultanément de l'activité des facteurs sociologiques. La délimitation des effets de ces procès est énormément difficile et même parfois impossible à saisir.

3. L'anthropologiste ne peut appliquer dans ses recherches la méthode d'expériment, mais il est condamné à déduire les conclusions en se basant uniquement sur les observations.

Il se peut que grâce aux conditions spéciales, nous avons parfois à faire avec des situations, qui semblent être des expérimentations en repris et organisés par l'anthropologiste lui-même dans le but de poursuivre un problème quelconque de l'anthropologie.

Tel était sûrement le cas de la société des Bastards de Rehoboth,—dont l'existence était due à des moments de l'isolement psycho-sociologiques,—la société des métisses sur laquelle Eugen Fischer a pu poursuivre ses recherches classiques sur le phénomène de l'hérédité chez l'homme.

Pour les recherches sur la question de l'influence du milieu physique sur la naissance des caractères nouveaux par la voie de la mutation, le rôle de ces expérimentations—pour ainsi dire accidentels—peuvent jouer les groupes des émigrants. Mais à une condition: notamment, qu'un tel groupe des émigrants garde dans sa nouvelle patrie un isolement bio-sociologique absolu, c'est à dire qu'il n'y aura pas de métissage avec la population autochtone. Cette restriction gardée, les nouveaux caractères physiques qui seront—il se peut—constatés parmi les descendants des émigrés, pourront être envisagés comme résultat de l'influence du milieu et non pas du métissage racial. Mais l'ensemble des facteurs qui exerceront leur influence sur le groupe des émigrés dans le milieu nouveau sera sûrement très compliqué. Ce sera un ensemble des facteurs de toutes sortes de catégories, savoir: des facteurs du milieu différent au point de vue physique,—tel que la température, l'humidité, l'insolation, la pression atmosphérique etc.;—les facteurs de la différence dans le type de l'alimentation qui dépend des produits agricoles cultivés dans le pays, de l'ensemble des bestiaux qu'y sont élevés, même du genre de préparer la nourriture:—et en fin peut être les facteurs résultant de la différence dans le genre du travail, parfois même si la profession de l'émigré reste la même, par ex. le genre du travail d'un paysan polonais émigré en Brésil où il organise son nouveau ménage n'est pas absolument le même qu'en Pologne: en Brésil il cultive d'autres plantes et il emploie des instruments différents.

Si nous ajoutons le rôle sélectif de certaines maladies qui sont caractéristiques pour certaines régions—par exemple des maladies tropicales,—on peut prévoir la possibilité de constater le résultat dû au phénomène de la mutation sous forme de différences dans les caractères des descendants des émigrés avec le groupe des émigrés eux-mêmes. En outre on pourra constater peut-être des différences dans la structure raciale de la population, ce qui sera probablement le produit du phénomène des facteurs de sélection biologique ou sociologique. Mais décider lequel des facteurs sus-mentionnés était la

cause immédiate de la mutation,—ainsi que lequel des facteurs sélectifs a amené à une élimination de certains éléments raciaux—est très difficile.

La tâche de l'anthropologiste devient surtout difficile, s'il a à faire avec une population des émigrés, qui est—pour ainsi dire—vieille,—c'est à dire qui ne comprend plus ceux qui sont arrivés eux-mêmes comme les émigrés de leur pays natal. Il ne pourra être jamais sûr si les différences constatées entre la population descendants des émigrés et la population du pays natal de ces émigrés,—les différences même très grandes et très distinctes,—présentent le résultat de l'influence du milieu qui a changé. Ces différences peuvent être donc tout simplement la conséquence d'une sélection, qui a eu lieu au moment de la formation de l'émigration en question dans le pays natal,—savoir, que l'ensemble des émigrés se recrute seulement de certains éléments raciaux qui composaient la population du pays natal, ce qui a amené au fait, que la structure raciale des émigrés était déjà au moment de quitter leur pays différente de celle de la population du pays natal.

C'est pourquoi la première condition, qui est absolument indispensable dès qu'on organise les recherches sur les populations des émigrés dans le but de saisir les facteurs qui conduisent cette population à une stabilisation de la structure raciale dans une direction distincte, c'est de saisir à temps la possibilité de faire les *mensurations anthropologiques en première ligne sur les émigrés, qui ont eux-mêmes quitté leur pays natal*. Leurs descendants,—s'ils gardent de ne pas se métisser avec la population autochtone,—présenteront des matériaux, qui par comparaison avec les mensurations de leurs ancêtres, qui ont quitté le pays natal,—seront convenables pour l'examen du rôle des facteurs particuliers biologiques et sociologiques sus-mentionnés.

Il est évident qu'un travail pareil, une telle entreprise, ne peut être exécuter par un seul anthropologiste, au cours de sa vie. Ce travail dépasse même les possibilités d'un institut anthropologique, lié avec une chaire à une université, vu les fonds très restreints de la plupart des instituts de la sorte. L'organisation des recherches pareils pourrait être entreprise dans les plans des projets d'un état, et encore mieux sous les auspices d'une organisation scientifique internationale. Une organisation pareille pourrait imposer aux investigateurs le plan et la forme de recherches, afin de les rendre le plus possible uniforme et par conséquence rendre comparable dans l'avenir les résultats de ces recherches, qui devraient être organisés par rapport à tous les groupes des émigrés, qui forment des populations isolées sur les territoires accessibles pour les investigations scientifiques.

C'est pourquoi justement je me permets par la présente de prier le Conseil Permanent d'avancer au prochain Congrès ma proposition de créer auprès de notre organisation une Commission, dont le devoir serait en première ligne de préparer un projet de recherches sur les populations des émigrés et ensuite de les organiser.

Pourquoi je me suis permis de m'adresser au Conseil avec cette proposition justement aujourd'hui, dans les temps où tant de problèmes liés avec l'organisation internationale de la vie économique et politique occupent tous les esprits? Mais c'est justement parce que la catastrophe de la dernière guerre força de très grands nombres des groupes de population de quitter leurs pays nataux et habiter depuis des années des territoires souvent très éloignés et très différents par rapport aux conditions auxquels ils étaient accoutumés.

On doit prévoir qu'il se peut qu'une partie de cette émigration de guerre ne rentrera pas dans leur patrie.



Ces groupes devraient être étudiés afin d'accumuler des matériaux qui serviraient dans l'avenir en caractère de données très importantes pour le problème de la variabilité de l'homme sous l'influence du changement du milieu.

Ce genre des matériaux on pourrait trouver même sur les territoires des pays particuliers, qui ont subi grâce à la guerre des grandes translocations de la population. Celle-ci, forcée à déménager, formait quelque fois des groupes très nombreux qui ont peuplé des territoires nouveaux. En Pologne par exemple c'est justement le cas de la translocation des masses de population que habitait l'Est de l'ancienne Pologne, et à présent se rendent sur les territoires à l'Occident de la Pologne contemporaine.—Cette émigration, composée dans un très grand pour cent des éléments dinariques foncés, occupe entre autres les territoires des Sudètes, qui comme nous le savons était avancé dans la littérature anthropologique comme un centre de l'existence du ainsi nommé 'Type de Sudètes'—c'est à dire d'un élément dinarique en ce qui concerne sa morphologie,—mais de pigmentation claire.—Si cette dépigmentation est le résultat d'une mutation liée à un facteur—non connu encore—mais liée d'une manière quelconque avec les conditions spéciales des territoires des Sudètes,—nous devons nous attendre, que nos émigrés de l'Est subiront la même mutation, et que—par conséquent le pourcent des éléments de pigmentation claire doit augmenter aux cours des générations.

Mais pour saisir ce phénomène il est absolument indispensable d'avoir les données concernant la pigmentation des premiers émigrés pour pouvoir les comparer avec celle de leur descendants.

Il me semble que les problèmes analogues se poseront devant les investigateurs par rapport aux autres groupes d'émigration soit au commencement de leur travail, soit au cours de leurs recherches.—Un point me paraît sûr : en caractère d'organisation scientifique internationale nous devons faire tous nos efforts pour saisir à temps les données qui nous aideront d'élucider l'un des problèmes le plus important dans l'anthropologie, et notamment le problème de l'influence du milieu sur l'homme.

**Some Remarks' on Physiological Anthropology.** By **76** J. S. Weiner, Dept. of Human Anatomy, Oxford  
Human physiology has in recent years made a number of advances in knowledge and technique which are of immediate significance to anthropology; there are in addition certain developments which hold out a promise of great potential value for the study of human variation.

In the past, although physical anthropologists have generally acknowledged the importance of the physiological approach to Anthropology, there has, with a few notable exceptions, been little in the way of physiological research. Previous international congresses of anthropology, for example, have set aside sessions for 'physiological anthropology,' but these have in fact been concerned with topics not strictly physiological in the sense discussed here. The term physiological has been taken to include topics such as the distribution and genetics of blood groups, the relation of body type and constitution to disease, and so on. These subjects are, of course, of considerable anthropological interest in themselves.

Furthermore, there is in the anthropological literature a body of material to which the term 'physiological studies' is usually attached, and which deals with the comparison, as between different 'racial,' ethnic, or geographical groups, of such bodily characters as pulse rate, mouth temperature, blood pressure, or 'vital

'capacity.' Sometimes these statistical studies provide some interesting pointers of anthropological interest, as for example studies of the basal metabolic rate when accurately controlled and under strict experimental conditions (MacGregor and Loh, 1941). In the main, however, this type of investigation has a limited value even when experimental circumstances are carefully arranged. Isolated measurements, of say, pulse-rate or body-temperature, provide little insight into physiological activity or adaptation, since these characters are the results of complex physiological processes. Racial or ecological significance should be attached to such studies only with caution.

There would appear to be two main ways by which physiology can advance our understanding of the variability and differentiation displayed by modern man. There is firstly the fundamental contribution which physiology can make by exploring the metabolic, chemical, and regulative processes which underlie the more obvious and well-established differences in morphology, which exist between groups of present-day man. Such features as, for instance, differences in physique or stature, are well known to be related to nutritional and endocrinological factors; and yet hardly a start has been made on the study of the physiological differences between populations of varying physique and stature, living in similar or different conditions, or even on the metabolic differences between individuals of varying body type belonging to the same 'racial' group. We have, as yet, little to offer in explanation of the factors governing the growth, development, and nutrition of such widely contrasting groups as, for example, Nilotic negroes and African negroids or Philippine pygmies.

When one considers anthropological differences in stature, skin-colour, or various osteological features, the need for endocrinological investigation becomes obvious. Judging from clinical conditions in which gross disturbances in skeletal development and skin pigmentation are associated with endocrine upset, one must suppose, as Keith pointed out many years ago (Keith, 1923) that the endocrines are in some way concerned with human evolution and differentiation. It is only lately that the techniques for dealing with these problems on the normal human subject have begun to be available. It is now practicable to obtain experimental insight into endocrinological function in human beings, since chemical and biological methods of assay are available for a number of hormones or related substances released by the pituitary, adrenal, and sex glands.

Anthropologists in the past have undoubtedly been too ready to argue on the basis of bodily characters of which the physiological and biochemical nature was far from understood. Skin colour—to take a feature on which much reliance is placed in racial classification—has recently, thanks to spectrophotometric analysis, been found to be more complex in nature than is usually assumed (Edwards and Duntley, 1934). The fact that carotene enters into the constitution of normal skin colour suggests that differences in intermediary metabolism may exist in groups or races superficially of similar pigmentation.

An important consequence of physiological analysis is the possibility of classifying bodily characters in a rational manner. For instance, combined biochemical and spectrophotometric study of hair-pigments (Gardner and MacAdam, 1934) shows the inaccuracy of the accepted arbitrary coding of hair colour.

These few examples must suffice to emphasize the

importance of the metabolism and endocrinology of human variation.

The second and perhaps more immediately useful physiological approach to anthropological problems is what one might term the 'ecological.' By 'ecology' I mean the functional interrelation between man and his environment, natural or artificial. Human ecology in this sense represents a basically important aspect of human biology. Besides the light it may help to throw on the adaptive significance of human variation and in differentiating acquired adaptations from inherited, it has practical bearings on problems of hygiene and social medicine.

Among the elements which are ecologically important are the climate, the food-supply, and the daily routine of work and rest. Since in recent years the physiology of work, of climate and temperature regulation, and of nutrition have been quite extensively studied on the human subject (although almost exclusively under laboratory conditions) it is clear that the anthropological aspects need not in the future be neglected. Examples drawn from physiological studies of heat-regulation may serve to show the relevance of these studies to the ecological aspects of anthropology.

The factors in the thermal environment which are of physiological importance have been shown in laboratory studies to be the dry-bulb temperature, the wet-bulb temperature, the air-movement, and the absorbed infra-red radiation. The wet-bulb temperature, especially in tropical environments, has a far more sensitive effect than the dry-bulb temperature; the difference to heat regulation as between, say, nearly still air and air moving at 100 feet per minute is far more striking than between air at 200 and 300 feet per minute (McArdle *et al.*, 1946). The meteorological variables which are significant physiologically are thus quite well known; nevertheless anthropologists and others, when discussing the influence of climate on human variation, are quite content to lay stress on the dry-bulb temperature and maybe the relative humidity of the air, and to use figures obtained from meteorological stations which can bear no relationship to the actual environment of the tribe or community involved.

The process of acclimatisation to high temperature furnishes a particularly good example of the 'ecological' approach to Anthropology. Amongst other findings, it has been established that Europeans in artificial tropical surroundings (in climatic chambers) show a definite improvement in their ability to work in these conditions after several days' repeated exposure. The ability to sweat increases during this 'acclimatisation' (Bean and Eichna, 1943; Weiner, 1946) and the content of salt in the sweat is progressively reduced (*see* review by Ladell, 1945). From the climatic point of view these would appear to represent acquired characters of adaptive value. There are other changes and improvements in the circulation, in metabolism, and probably in the endocrinological system. It can be anticipated that similar investigations on tropical peoples would reveal a great deal about natural acclimatisation.

It is interesting to recall in this connection that negroes are thought to possess more sweat-glands per unit area of skin than Europeans (Glaser, 1933-34). If this is so, then the increased sweating of artificial acclimatization is paralleled in tropical dwellers by a genetically determined increase in sweat-glands which may be supposed to serve a similar adaptive function. Now these 'ecological' variations in sweating are closely analogous to the variations which occur in melanin pigmentation of

skin. Here the naturally occurring and genetically determined dark skin-colour is related to, and has a protective value against, a high intensity of ultra-violet radiation, and is also mostly in evidence in tropical peoples (*see* Fleure, 1945, for discussion). As in the case of sweating, an increase in tanning may be induced artificially in light-skinned individuals. The similarity between these two physiological properties of skin is heightened when one recalls that albinism has its counterpart in congenital absence of sweat-glands. Physiological investigation clearly demonstrates the adverse biological effects of an inability to sweat or tan in tropical environments. These considerations make it not at all unlikely that features such as skin colour and sweating, whose functional and ecological significance can be assessed experimentally, are of importance in the evolutionary differentiation of contemporary man.

In the climatic field recent research on Europeans suggests many further anthropological enquiries. The critical environmental levels for work of different kinds (Eichna *et al.*, 1945), including 'psychomotor' work (Weiner and Hutchinson, 1945), have been determined for Europeans; water and salt metabolism, kidney function in relation to climate, have also been studied; cold climate physiology has much to offer. All these and many aspects of human nutrition and work-physiology commend themselves to the attention of the anthropologist.

Physical anthropologists, I suggest, should attract the attention of physiologists to their subject; in the laboratory, and particularly on expeditions, much is to be gained. Mobile laboratories for intensive physiological and biochemical study have come into use in recent years, and one can anticipate the possibility of mobile laboratories for the study of physiology of climate and work in the field. Lastly, I would suggest to the delegates to the Permanent Council of the International Congress of Anthropology that at the next congress specific invitations to contribute should be extended to physiologists in America, Australia, and in this country, known to be working on relevant aspects of human physiology.

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#### Study and Definition of Anthropological and Ethnological Terms. By Sir John L. Mgyres, Oxford

**77** The failure of the Research Committee appointed at Copenhagen to make substantial progress with its enquiry suggests that perhaps a fresh approach to the whole problem might be more successful.

The subject of enquiry is twofold. The more obvious need is an agreed vocabulary of equivalents, in the

principal languages, for the standard terms and phrases of this group of studies. In Physical Anthropology most of these terms are derived from anatomy and medicine, and are fairly well translated already. In Social Anthropology they are derived from the terminology of the Social Sciences, and here too there are recognized equivalents for many of them. The difficulty is greatest in Technology and Archaeology, because each language has accumulated a technical jargon from its own arts and crafts, and from popular speech. What, for example, are the precise archaeological equivalents of common English words for earthenware:—*pot, dish, cup, mug, jug, pitcher, jar*; and how far is it possible, or desirable, to recognize agreed synonyms? The nomenclature of the components of geometrical designs is even more confused, and makes it almost impossible to reconstruct such a design from verbal description.

The remedy is a polyglot vocabulary, with simple illustrations in the technological sections. A small committee in each country, including a representative of each of the principal departments of study, should first draw up a vocabulary of the principal terms, with a brief definition of each term. These vocabularies should be circulated among the committees for other languages, whose members would supply the equivalent terms in their own terminology. At this stage it will probably be found that many words in the original list have no accepted translations; and also that omissions in each list are supplied by the lists from other countries. Further omissions, supplements, and inconsistencies will be detected when the composite polyglot drafts are collated. Many terms will be found to have no precise meaning or synonyms, and should be avoided in future; others would receive an anthropological definition by which most writers will probably agree to be guided.

The point has already emerged, that many terms have no agreed significance, or are used in two or more senses. The *study* and *equation* of terms now gives place to *definition*, which may be a much more difficult and controversial matter. Reference may be made to the attempt in the later editions of the British *Anthropological Notes and Queries* to supply standard English definitions of the principal sociological terms. It would be a valuable supplement to these definitions if, in the new edition now in preparation, the equivalents of them in the principal other languages were supplied, by the co-operation of foreign colleagues, with the necessary explanations of well-established differences of usage, and recommendations for future use. This suggestion is submitted for consideration by the Royal Anthropological Institute and its editorial committee.

## Anthropological and Ethnological Teaching in Public Education. By Professor A. P. Elkin, University of Sydney, N.S.W.

**78** I. *The Social Responsibility of Anthropologists.*—For a number of years scientists have been gradually emerging from the 'ivory tower' and reaching a conviction that they must take some responsibility for the social implications of their research and its applications. Quite apart from the fact that they themselves are citizens, with duties as such, they recognize that to put specialized knowledge and power into the hands of other citizens, particularly politicians, financiers, and industrialists, whose attitude is not scientific, can be fraught with great danger to the common weal. For this, many scientists no longer feel that they can eschew responsibility. The problem is difficult. The search for understanding must lead whither it will, unfettered;

but must he who finds, hand over his discovery for the use of all—the socially responsible and irresponsible alike? The heart-searching and fears following on the recent harnessing and release of atomic energy reveal the problem in all its starkness—a solution must be sought and found.

There is, however, another and equally important aspect of this responsibility. Normally, scientists make the results of their researches available only in specialist journals, or in expensive forbidding books, which only the fully initiated will, or can, read. In some cases too, their work is a paid confidential service to an employing industrial firm. Consequently, the general public knows little or nothing of what is being discovered. As a rule this does not matter, but in some spheres it does—especially where human relations are concerned. This applies particularly to Anthropology and Ethnology. We may be responsible, or rather blameworthy, for knowledge which we hold in our journals and within our coteries, but do not impart to the public in such a way that they can understand the facts and their implications. To see the dangers arising, false doctrines spreading, peoples being fooled by wicked propaganda, and truth being repressed, without using our knowledge publicly in the national and international interest, is at least to saddle ourselves with a share in the guilt for the evil which follows. This applies to aspects of the Versailles Peace Treaty, and to the events leading up to the recent war; but it must not apply to the next Peace Treaty. Anthropology must spread its knowledge on social, national, and international problems.

II. *Special Fields for Anthropological and Ethnological Teaching.*—The following are fields, concerning which knowledge should be spread:—

- (1) The divisions and relationship of ethnic groups ('races'), and the fallacy of 'race doctrines'.
- (2) Comparative Psychology—the latest conclusions (a) on the hypothesis that some peoples are inferior in intelligence to others, and (b) on the relation of culture to intelligence and to brain development.
- (3) Ethnology—information on the view that the real differences between peoples are historical and cultural—that these differences must be faced, and their reasons mutually understood and accepted.
- (4) Miscegenation—the biological and social facts regarding this should be broadcast, and that the problem of the mixed blood is mainly cultural.

III. *Effect of the Spread of this Knowledge.*—Knowledge on these matters, if spread in all countries through the people in general to Governments would

- (a) expose the shallowness of race-doctrines which are used to rationalize wars, and so would lessen the risk of war;
  - (b) increase knowledge of each other on the part of peoples of different nations and colour, and so improve international relations;
  - (c) gradually eliminate exploitation and repression of native peoples; create respect for, and understanding of, their cultures; and hasten their progress in civilization.
- IV. *How should such Knowledge be Spread?*—The spread of this should be accomplished

- (i) by adult education;
- (ii) by a continual flow of inexpensive but well-produced pamphlets and books;
- (iii) by co-operation in (i) and (ii) with all workers' organizations (trade unions), and with cultural and religious bodies; and
- (iv) mainly and fundamentally, by the introduction of this information in appropriate form into all school curricula—graded for primary and secondary schools.

It could be an essential part of the subject sometimes called 'Social Study' or 'Civics,' though there is good reason for Anthropology to stand on its own feet in such curricula. The very word, as an essential subject, would broaden and deepen the pupil's point of view and interests.

I hope that the Permanent Council, or the next meeting of the Congress, will urge on all Governments the value and need, in the interests of good citizenship and international understanding, of including Anthropology and Ethnology in school curricula, and therefore in the curricula of all Teachers' Training Colleges.

V. *Man's Place in Time.*—The reasons given above for public education in Anthropology and Ethnology were mainly practical in emphasis. But at least one other aspect of the subject justifies its inclusion in School curricula, certainly from the top of the Primary division and upwards: *Prehistory*—the placing of man and his culture in his relative position in nature and in time. In this way, citizens will grow up realizing that man is an expression of that same life which has been and is in all creatures and living things, and that he and his civilization are appearances of but 'yesterday.' Thus may humility and a well-grounded pride develop!

[The general point of view adopted in this paper was expressed in A. P. Elkin, 'Science, Society, and Every-man,' being the Presidential Address to the Royal Society of New South Wales, 1941. *Journal and Proceedings*, Vol. LXXV, pp. 1-20.]

#### The Place of Anthropology and Ethnology in Education.

**79** *By Sir John Myres, Oxford*

The place of Anthropology and Ethnology in Education is as vague and inadequate as it is, mainly for two reasons: the late development of those studies themselves, and the early and important place of studies such as History and Literature, which theoretically are themselves special aspects and departments of the general 'Study of Man.' The same is true of Geography, the general 'Study of Nature,' which was long replaced in education by special aspects and departments of the physical and biological sciences. Theoretically, indeed, a very large part of the substance of Education is comprised between Geography, the general Study of Nature, and Anthropology, the general Study of Man.

The analogy between these two general studies may be profitably elaborated. Both have their theoretical and systematic side: the study of the major facts and processes of Nature, the formation of lands and seas, the causes of climate, the conditions for the maintenance of various types of vegetation and fauna, including societies of men, and of the major facts and processes of Human Life, the development, perpetuation, and intermixture of racial varieties, the establishment of food quests, arts of life, social institutions, and other elements of culture. Both, likewise, have their regional aspect, the definition and interpretation of specific combinations of natural factors and forces, within geographical regions; and of specific aggregates of people, usually within a geographical region, but sometimes overflowing from it, related and cohering by reason of similarities of breed, mode of life, and outlook on their immediate and remote neighbours. At this point, obviously geographical and ethnological studies interpenetrate in what is commonly called 'Human Geography,' which presumes elementary acquaintance with Physical Geography and Physical Anthropology, but concentrates attention on the regional surroundings and ethnological

components of each regional population, and institutes comparisons between the populations of one region and others.

This Human Geography is—or should be—(a) the foundation and background of elementary teaching, and (b) the general plan within which the specific courses, both in the natural sciences and in the humanities, have their places. And among these specific courses there is—or should be—an agreed place for more specific and advanced study of physical and cultural Anthropology, and the regional ethnology which is its counterpart.

In the crowded programme of public education it is useless, as well as unphilosophical, to demand more than the clear and accurate exposition of the elementary facts and ideas at their appropriate places in the general courses of Geography and what is commonly called history. When these general courses are adequate, they contain already much that an anthropologist or ethnologist should desire. There is, however, occasion—and there should be room—in large institutions, for more advanced study of non-European races and cultures; and also for what is no less valuable, but hitherto more rarely provided, the study of the elementary life of European communities in relation to their own origins, as illustrated in folklore and folk-life of every kind: a study which is of high practical value to anyone who is to engage in social services involving intimate acquaintance with the mode of life of the less advanced groups in the community.

At the University, there is room for wide differences of policy. On the one hand, both Anthropology and Ethnology are already as far advanced in regard to their objectives, their methods, and the provision of material for original research, as most other departments of Natural Sciences: though there are still great contrasts between a few principal centres and the majority of Universities, which have come late into the field both as collectors and as teachers. It is mainly this question of equipment which must determine whether any institution may rightly undertake the responsibility of a School of Anthropology, and within what limitation of scope. Physical Anthropology has its obvious allies and reinforcements in the Medical Faculty; Social Anthropology in the Humanities, and particularly in Economics and Religion. The earlier history of all the chief centres of anthropological research illustrates this initial dependence on one or other of these older studies.

On the other hand, opinions differ widely as to the fitness of Anthropology and Ethnology to supply the general training required for the first degree in any University. Sometimes the question is answered by combining these subjects with Geography or with Economics or with Archaeology, where the methods of teaching and examination are more mature. Sometimes a diploma in Anthropology is accepted as part of the requirements of the bachelor's degree. In graduate study this difficulty tends to disappear, mainly because the students are presumed to have received a sound training in scientific method already. It is less certain that they have had adequate grounding in the subject-matter of Anthropology or Ethnology, outside the special requirements of their research-subject. This kind of specialism discredits both the students and the teachers. The difficulty is not peculiar to this group of subjects, but is dangerously common, because undergraduate training in them is hitherto defective or lacking.

It has to be remembered that even in University studies there are two distinct objectives: to maintain a succession of specialized experts in research, and

competent (if not inspiring) teachers; and to train for civil life those students who are attracted by these studies and intend to make them useful in a career outside the University. Each is a valuable complement and stimulant to the other kind of student, like the association of the students of different Faculties and Departments in the University. Moreover, some of the best recruits to the research and teaching side come from the larger body of originally unspecialized students, sometimes at a quite late stage in their course.

It is a matter of opportunity and convenience, how far academic or educational considerations should prescribe the range and scope of the courses in Anthropology and Ethnology. Specialists incline to restrict the range of study, by reducing or omitting the requirements in Physical Anthropology, or in Technology, in order to secure more time or deeper study in Ethnology and Social Anthropology. But so long as popular beliefs as to the connexion between cultures and races need expert criticism, the necessity of a broad inclusive foundation of scientific knowledge on both sides of the subject is obvious; and the traditional association of Physical Anthropology with the Human Anatomy of the Medical School affords a discipline in minute observation and description, which is not yet available in other aspects of the Study of Man; as well as an introduction to statistical methods which those other aspects do not at present provide at all. The ideal academical programme would seem to begin with collateral and balanced study of Physical Anthropology, Social Anthropology, and Technology including Archaeology; and to diverge later into more advanced and specialized study, and eventual research, in some one or other of these three main departments.

#### **Anthropological Training for Colonial Officials.** *By Dr. M. Fortes, Reader in Social Anthropology, Oxford*

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It is understood that recruitment of personnel for the Colonial Service is likely to commence on a considerable scale in the near future. Arrangements for the pre-service training of new recruits are in hand and, as before the war, their course is likely to include substantial attention to anthropological and ethnological subjects. In England the emphasis will be largely on the side of Social Anthropology. New trends in British colonial policy, and in particular the recognition of the urgent need for more research in social, economic, and political conditions of the colonies call for new emphasis in both the form and the content of the anthropological courses that will be offered to colonial officers.

As regards the form of teaching, it seems likely that more time will have to be given to discussion classes and seminars than has been customary in the past in courses for colonial probationers in this country. In this way students will be drawn into more active and personal consideration of anthropological data and problems than is possible if they simply attend courses of lectures. Continental experience in this method of teaching would no doubt be instructive. Other methods of engaging the students' interests more actively need discussion.

As regards content, one of the main questions facing teachers is to what extent the courses for colonial probationers should be separated from those designed for the degree student. Most colonial probationers will be older than the average undergraduate and will already have a degree or its equivalent. During the next two or three years many will also have had responsible work in the armed forces and other branches of the war effort.

Strong arguments can be brought forward in favour of separate courses for colonial probationers, designed to equip them for their special duties. Certain subjects (e.g. primitive law) would have to be given more emphasis than in a similar introductory course for degree students. And the problems of transition from the traditional social organization and cultural heritage to new forms of social organization arising under the stress of culture-contact will have to receive particular attention. On the other hand, it is arguable that specially planned courses would give colonial probationers a one-sided view of primitive culture, and would be less effective as a means of giving them a broad perspective of human culture and social development than a course shared with the general body of students. Here again continental experience in France, Holland, and Belgium might provide valuable suggestions.

In so far as a course in Anthropology must be thought of not only in utilitarian terms but as an educational subject aimed at 'broadening the mind' of students, the question also arises as to what place should be given to topical controversies in the training of colonial cadets, e.g. the race question.

No doubt many of these questions will settle themselves in time, as experience in handling them grows. Others will have to be dealt with on a domestic basis, against the background of British colonial history and the evolution of British colonial policy. But discussion with teachers from other countries faced with similar teaching problems may be of assistance in dealing with others.

#### **Conservation of Aboriginal Peoples whose Modes of Life are of Scientific Interest.** *By Professor A. P. Elkin, University of Sydney, N.S.W.*

81

One of the objects for which the Department of Anthropology in the University of Sydney was established in 1926 was to train research-workers for, and to direct research amongst (a) native peoples for whose welfare and progress Australia was administratively responsible (i.e. New Guinea and Papua), and (b) amongst the Australian Aborigines 'as representing one of the 'lowest types of culture available for study,' especially as they were decreasing in numbers and as their culture was changing through contact.

Thanks to generous grants from the Rockefeller Foundation to the Australian National Research Council, this work was undertaken and organized through a committee of the latter under the chairmanship of the Professor of Anthropology (A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, 1926-31; R. Firth (acting), 1931-32; A. P. Elkin, since 1932). Sample peoples were selected in the South-west Pacific Islands, care being taken to co-operate with investigators from abroad who were not financed through the A.N.R.C. Since 1926, fifteen expeditions went into this region from the A.N.R.C. and nine from abroad. This only touched the fringe of the field, but together with the work of Dr. F. E. Williams, Govt. Anthropologist in Papua, and of such missionaries as Lehner, Kirschbaum, and Fox, a solid basis of knowledge has been built up.

There are still opportunities for research in comparatively 'untouched' cultures in this region, especially in the highlands of New Guinea (including the Dutch half), of New Britain, and of some of the smaller islands. The A.N.R.C. has urged on the Australian Government its responsibility to provide finance for this research, but assistance with both funds and workers is also required from abroad.

*I. South-west Pacific Islands.*—It should be noted,

however, that the chief ground advanced for research in this region, by the Pacific Science Congress of 1923, was that Australia could best carry out its administrative responsibility in Papua-New Guinea on the basis of investigation of the native cultures. This research was held to be not merely of academic interest, but also of practical value. There was no suggestion of the conservation of these native peoples because their modes of life were of scientific interest. It was understood that in the course of administration and missionary activity their cultures would undergo change, and indeed, under the terms of the Mandate, should do so.

The problem was to ensure that this change did not cause depopulation. At this point, Anthropology (the Sydney Department of Anthropology, in particular) was expected to provide material assistance, both with regard to administrative methods and in the training of officers.

Thus, though field-workers studied the untouched native culture where possible, or sought to recapture it even while it was changing or breaking down, Anthropology, as any other science, was expected, on the basis of observed facts and established principles, to be able to predict what would occur under certain conditions, and what would be the effect of contemplated modifications or prohibitions of customary behaviour. In other words, in Sydney, we were constrained by our very relation to Australia's territorial responsibilities, to emphasize the dynamic, practical, and diachronic aspect of Anthropology. Needless to say, we have not neglected the synchronic aspect; without the latter, the former would be very superficial. But we had to concern ourselves with the changes in culture, of which directly and indirectly Australia was the cause; indeed, in an increasing degree, Anthropology has been a cause.

Twenty, and even fourteen, years ago, the prevailing attitude was that anthropologists should present the results of their research to the Administration, which would make what use of them it thought fit. Both anthropologists themselves in this region and also such an administrator as the late Sir Hubert Murray held this view. But this is no longer true. The change first became apparent with regard to Australian Aboriginal affairs. On the basis of research into Aboriginal life as it was, and into the changes wrought by contact and clash, Governments were informed of the effect on the Aborigines of their policies and administrative methods, and in particular of the deficiencies in these. In time, the Commonwealth and New South Wales Governments called on the Professor of Anthropology in 1938 to assist in the framing of policies, and in the latter case with the actual administration of them; and Missionary Societies have acted similarly.

In New Guinea the ground for the change was prepared by the fact that for a number of years the Administrator of District Services was also Government Anthropologist. The real change, however, came with the Pacific war. Anthropology was called upon to assist the Fighting Services in their contacts with native peoples, and as the enemy was driven back, anthropologists were rightly expected to throw light on the problems of native rehabilitation. But what was more significant was that Sydney anthropologists, familiar with the region, felt that they had a responsibility for that rehabilitation. The war in its various phases (of retreat, enemy occupation, and Australian military administration) had been 'total' over a large part of the region. If the consequences were not to be calamitous, it was obvious that these effects should be

studied from every aspect, and that recommendations, based on such research, should be made to the Government. No longer was it felt sufficient to present the results of research; recommendations also were regarded as in order—by the Government as well as by scientists.

This is Applied Anthropology with a vengeance, but the application of the Atlantic Charter to native peoples who had served and suffered much in our war, seemed to us to make it our duty. In 1943, a 'Fourteen Point Charter for the native peoples of the South-west Pacific,' was put out by the Professor of Anthropology and was widely adopted and urged on the Government. All members of the staff of the Department presented reasoned statements, wherever possible, urging the abolition of the indenture system. Two of them (Miss Wedgwood and Dr. Hogbin) joined the Army's research section and worked at various times during 1944-45 in New Guinea, while they and others (*e.g.* Dr. Stanner, Dr. Piddington) have assisted at Conferences and in other practical ways.

*To sum up:* in 1926, research in these islands, while completely unfettered, was expected to yield results of practical value to the Administrations. During the past ten years, however, research, while not neglecting the recording and study of 'untouched' native cultures, has concerned itself more and more with problems of contact and change, and finally has become the basis of recommendations on policy and method by anthropologists themselves. In other words, while regarding native peoples' modes of life as of scientific interest, we now also regard the people themselves as of human significance, and their successful readjustment to cultural changes as a responsibility which anthropologists must share. This entails hard, constant, and sound research, sane theorizing, and a continuous comprehension of the practical difficulties associated with the contact of different human groups, especially when these believe that their general interests clash, as in the case of European and native.

II. *Australian Aborigines.*—Research amongst the Papuan-New Guinea peoples was, as we have seen, intended by the Pacific Science Congress of 1923 to be of practical value. On the other hand, amongst the Australian Aborigines, no doubt because of their apparent rapid decrease, research was thought of mainly, if not solely, from the academic point of view. Their mode of life, being very 'low,' was of scientific interest, and should be studied as quickly as possible. There was no hint that they could be saved or conserved. And so planned research commenced in 1926, and still goes on.

Anthropologists very soon expressed opinions on the fact and causes of Aboriginal decline, but otherwise kept to the straight academic path. So much so indeed, that before long, some, whose interests lay in the fields of Physical Anthropology and material culture rather than in Sociology, urged the creation of large reserves in which some tribes could be conserved in their native conditions of life, and into which no outsider should be admitted except medical officers and anthropologists—mainly the latter. This kind of 'human-zoo' attitude caused much hostile criticism of Anthropology, especially amongst humanitarians, some powerful missionary organizations, and the growing partially-organized mixed-blood groups. In a period in which national responsibility for the welfare, progress, and ultimate citizenship or independence of native peoples was increasing (partly no doubt because of the influence of the Mandate principle), this attitude, largely misinterpreted, was unfortunate, and had to be counteracted.



In view of experience in Australia, any suggestion that Aboriginal peoples are to be conserved because of their scientific interest would be very coldly received. The day is past when human beings, even black or brown, can be regarded as cultural 'guinea pigs.' And just as this idea of conservation is now viewed with disfavour, so too is the idea of protection out of date, as the purpose of Aboriginal policy: the aim is now positive and dynamic, not negative and static—it is progress, health, increase, citizenship. Anthropologists, therefore, in addition to studying the relatively unchanged native culture where this is still possible, and 'recovering' it in other areas, must remember that changes cannot be prevented; indeed, present attitudes and policies are designed to prepare even the comparatively isolated full-bloods for cultural change. In any case, no policy of 'zoo'-like reserves will keep the Aborigines as they were. Nothing will keep them from moving from such purposeless reserves into white settlements and towns, and so meeting the disturbing influences of civilization suddenly and unprepared.

III. *The Call to Immediate Field-work—not Conservation.*—The present need is not a call for the conservation of aboriginal peoples of scientific interest, but immediate intensive field-work wherever primitive cultures are not broken down, and where they have comparatively recently done so. In each area or tribe, the field-worker should spend in the first instance about two years, possibly with a break in the middle, followed by another six to twelve months after the lapse of a couple of years. The native language must be mastered. Only thus can we be assured that we have really entered into the thinking of the people concerned, and so feel competent to discuss primitive mentality, philosophy, and so on. The return visit is of special value.

In addition, experienced field-workers, men and women, are required at once, to work amongst civilized natives of Australia and the islands, including mixed-bloods, for these people often retain much knowledge and many attitudes which belong to the former native culture, and in addition can provide enlightening opinions about it. This has been shown by recent work in New South Wales in regions from which the 'old' was thought to have quite disappeared. The 'lingering aspect' of the old culture needs study, both as regards content and reason—the 'what' and the 'why.'

In this paper I have, for obvious reasons, only spoken of Australia and the South-west Pacific; and there, to repeat, the need is not conservation, but immediate research.

Finally, the aftermath of war has made this research all the more urgent; in the first place, because of the way in which native peoples from Central Australia to Malaita were drawn into war service and hastened into contact with 'civilization,' thus accelerating change. In the second place, this very process of change presents us with new problems and opportunities. For example, the withdrawal of direct administration and missionary oversight, and in some parts, the pressure of Japanese propaganda, were tests of the degree in which apparently accepted European customs and standards had become part of native life. Had these modified the culture, replacing some of its elements? Or were they only a comparatively superficial adaptation to the presence of administrative and missionary officers and agents? There is some evidence to suggest the latter in some regions. An examination of this subject in selected areas in the light of the pre-war contact agencies and methods will throw light on the processes of culture-

change. There is also the opportunity to ascertain the psychological and sociological effects of the war on these native peoples, and on their attitudes to the white man—an opportunity which must be taken quickly, or it will be lost.

I would like to see field-workers who carried out intensive research in pre-war years amongst native peoples in the Australian and South-west Pacific war regions, return to their former fields and study the changes. This is a unique opportunity for anthropologists, for our science is concerned not with an imaginary static society or unchanging man, but with man in society in process of change.

[For facts and information referred to above, see A. P. Elkin: 'Anthropological Research in Australia and the Western Pacific, 1927-37,' *Oceania*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, pp. 306-27; 'Anthropology in Australia, 1939,' *Oceania*, Vol. X, No. 1, pp. 1-29; 'Anthropology and the Peoples of the South-west Pacific: The Past, Present, and Future,' *Oceania*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, pp. 1-19; 'Notes on Anthropology and the Future of Australian Territories,' *Oceania*, Vol. XV, No. 2, pp. 85-88; *Wanted—A Charter for the Native Peoples of the South-west Pacific* (Sydney, 1943, pp. 1-64); *Citizenship for the Aborigines* (Sydney, 1944, pp. 1-109).]

#### On the Conservation of the Basque Peoples. By the Rev. J. M. de Barandiarán (Spain)

**82** The Basques inhabit the valleys and mountains of the western region of the Pyrenees. They constitute a perfectly definite ethnic group, both in their racial characters and in their traditional culture.

The eminent anthropologist Collignon summarized his studies on the Basques in these words: 'There exists over the whole extent of the country in which the Basque (Euskarian) language is spoken a special race without analogy with any other known group.' Another well-known anthropologist, Dr. H. V. Vallois, noted among the Basques very notable anatomical peculiarities, and an unusual ratio in their blood groups.

This singularity of the Basque physical types descends from remote times in the region of the Pyrenees. The human remains in the neolithic dolmens of the Basque country present anatomical characters resembling those of the modern type; this led the eminent prehistorian Hugo Obermaier to think that of the numerous pre-Aryan peoples in Europe during the neolithic period we have only positive knowledge of one—the Basques.

Going back to even more ancient times we may say that the late palæolithic population of the Pyrenees is permeated by the Basque type, as appears from the study of the crania found in the cave of Urutiaga.

The Basque people is no less well characterized in its cultural aspect. Its language, very different from that of other peoples, is thought to be the last survival of those which were spoken in Europe before the introduction of the indo-European languages.

The legal system and the social and political structure of the Basques differ notably from Roman and Germanic Law which have chiefly dominated the peoples of Western Europe. Historians of law are agreed that in private as in public law the Basque codes of the Middle Ages reveal a social background quite different from that of neighbouring countries.

Many Basque beliefs and customs reveal a very peculiar world of ideas, saturated with prehistoric memories. The mythology, which presents persons and subjects depicted in the palæolithic rock-paintings of the Pyrenees, convinced Dr. V. Velhard that the Basques

remain the only European people which can be related with the Stone Age artists.

The economic mode of life, like the rural arts and industries, exhibits clear prehistoric echoes and survivals.

By maintaining itself always aloof from all movement of culture, the Basque people has preserved many remnants of its ancient peculiarity, linked now with a high degree of civilization. It is therefore considered as a pre-aryan survival and a living record of a distant past, and consequently its existence and conservation have a special importance for anthropological and ethnological studies.

The states which have come into being in the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees during historic times, have displayed a constant inclination to suppress the peculiarities of the Basque people, which have been accentuated since the middle of the last century.

The response to this attack has been the formation of cultural societies and social and political groups, fundamentally Basque. The happy consummation of this process was the creation of the autonomous Government of Euskadi in 1936. This organization has instituted a wide programme designed to create an atmosphere favourable to the development of the indigenous culture. But its forcible expulsion in consequence of the recent civil war in Spain has been followed by the suppression of Basque cultural institutions such as the Society for Basque Studies, and of all the means of protecting and encouraging genuinely Basque life.

Subjected to-day to two States—France and Spain, whose influence for uniformity is very great, the Basque people tends to lose its identity and to disappear as an ethnic group. It is therefore urgent to impress on the Governments concerned the necessity of adopting measures to secure the conservation of Basque culture.

With regard to the Basque people must be recalled the address a century ago, by the historian of Béarn, A. Mazure, to the French authorities about the Basque language: 'Do not condemn to extinction, for the benefit of the French language, the widespread remnants of a tongue which Cæsar and three imperial centuries after him, failed to convert to the speech of Rome; which has resisted the Goths, the Saracens, and all the neighbouring dialects, for ten centuries. The administration should show some toleration for the ancient speech of the Cantalieri. It should extend to it the admirable attentions which have been devoted of late years to the conservation of historical monuments. The ancient mode of speech is truly the most precious monument of any country.'

We must insist that Governments should respect and protect the ethnic elements of the Basque people, not only for its antiquity, but for its scientific interest.

### The Distribution of Megalithic Cultures, and their Influence on Ancient and Modern Civilizations.

83

By Professor V. Gordon Childe, Edinburgh

What follows is an attempt to clarify the reference 'Megalithic Cultures.'

'Megalithic' was originally applied to tombs (*dolmens*) and standing stones, forming circles (*cromlechs*) or isolated (*menhirs*), in Western and Northern Europe. The criterion was not simply the *megethos* of the *lithoi* (e.g. Egyptian temples and colossal statues were excluded) nor yet their *rudeness* (Tiryns was called 'cyclopean'), but involved also *function*—generally rather obscure—therefore, 'ritual'—but least so in the case of tombs.

No single 'culture' as defined by types of pottery and other artifacts is represented by the furniture of these

tombs in general, nor yet by that of the more widely distributed subclasses thereof—simple *dolmens*, passage graves (*dolmens à galerie*), and cists. Indeed no such subdivision is generally practicable: most *dolmens* are remnants of more complex monuments, and the subdivision of the latter into just two groups can only be effected by special pleading.

Admitting function and plan as criteria, 'megalithic' must be extended to include tombs built of small stones and roofed by corbelling, and others cut in the rock (Sardinia, Etruria, Iberian Peninsula, etc.). So the rock-cut tombs of Sicily, Cyprus, Syria-Palestine, and the early Aegean corbelled tombs and slab-cists of Attica, Antiparos, etc., must likewise be admitted. All so far are 'collective' tombs. Closed cists, designed for a *single* interment, are excluded, even if built of large stones like some North African and Palestinian 'dolmens.'

*Porthole slabs* are admissible as indices of megalithic architecture (Iberian Peninsula, France, British Isles, Central Germany, Sweden, Sardinia, Sicily, Apulia). If so, some 'dolmens' in Numidia, Palestine-Syria, Bulgaria, and the Caucasus must be classed as megalithic, and so too even cists in 'Necropolis B' at Sialk (Iran) and, of course, those of India.

The tombs so far admitted both in North and West Europe and the Mediterranean were normally *collective* (clan or family) sepulchres, and if this be an essential trait of one *original* megalithic culture, it would exclude an Egyptian *origin*. Yet subsequent applications to 'royal tombs' (e.g. Mycenaean *tholoi*) need not be excluded, nor still later Etruscan, Thracian, Scythian, or indeed Achaemenid monuments.

Some stone circles are parts of megalithic tombs, or derived therefrom; but others may be independent. Either may be *megaceptic* as well as megalithic. Timber architecture was translated into stone—in England, Etruria, India—and such translation need not imply a megalithic complex.

Observations on Burmese hill-tribes or Pacific Islands may illustrate reasons why prehistoric Europeans built megaliths and how they did it; but the operations of a Cornish or Aberdeenshire farmer setting up a stone gatepost are just as likely to be relevant.

### The Chronology of Megalithic Monuments in Ireland.

84

By Dr. R. A. S. Maelister (Eire)

The scheme of 'periods,' drawn up by Montelius for the Bronze Age of Great Britain, and based upon the typology of artifacts, breaks down when applied to Ireland, on account of the remarkable 'time-lag' which dominates the cultural history of that country. It has been necessary to seek another basis of chronology; this has been found in the chain of development of the many megalithic monuments scattered over its surface. With their help, the Irish Bronze Age has been divided into three stages, the *Protomegalithic*, *Deutromegalithic*, and *Epimegalithic*. Speaking broadly, the people of the first of these stages were of the dolichocephalic Iberian racial type; those of the second were their genealogical descendants, and carried on a later evolutionary phase of the same culture; but those of the third stage had come as predatory conquerors, on the quest of the then rich deposits of Irish gold and copper; and their arrival introduced abrupt ethnic and cultural changes. They were of the brachycephalic 'Beaker-folk'; but they did not come into Ireland till long after they had established themselves in Great Britain, and had all but discarded the use of beakers. These vessels are therefore rare in Ireland, on which account it was formerly supposed that



the Beaker Folk had never entered them: there could not be a greater mistake!

The three most familiar megalithic monuments in the country, the chambered tumuli known by the names *Douth*, *Knouth*, *New Grange*, are to be assigned to these three periods, in this order, respectively. It is contended that they have many contributions, not hitherto formulated, to make to the history of social and religious evolution.

# Reception of the Permanent Council of the International Congress: 16 April, 1946

**85** In connexion with the Oxford Meeting of the Permanent Council (MAN, 1946, 71, above) the Royal Anthropological Institute arranged a Special Meeting in London on Tuesday, 16 April.

On their arrival from Oxford, the members of the Permanent Council were received at the Institute's House, 21, Bedford Square, W.C.1, for a buffet luncheon: after which they visited the Temporary Exhibition in the King Edward VII Gallery of the British Museum; returning to the Institute for tea, when the delegates were the guests of the Folk-Lore Society.

At a Special Meeting at 5.15 p.m. the President of the Institute presided at the Huxley Memorial Lecture (postponed from 1941) by Professor the Abbé Henri Breuil on *La Découverte de l'Antiquité de l'Homme et quelques-unes de ses évidences*. The full text of this lecture will be printed in the *Journal* of the Institute, and is already to be obtained separately from the Institute's office, price two shillings and sixpence.

The evening was reserved for private hospitality.

Members of the Permanent Council of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, who visited this country for their meeting in Oxford (MAN, 1946, 71), were invited to deliver short talks at the Institute on recent anthropological work in their respective fields. The following meetings were arranged:—

- 11 April, 1.30 p.m. Professor J. M. de Barandiarán: *Recherches anthropologiques au Pays Basque, 1936-46*.
- 11 April, 5 p.m. Professor E. de Jonghe (Institut Royal Colonial Belge, Brussels): *Les recherches ethnographiques en Belgique et au Congo Belge*.
- 11 April, 5.45 p.m. Professor Dr. F. M. Olbrechts (University of Ghent, Museum voor Volkenkunde): *The Study of Style in Congo Sculpture. (Illustrated.)*
- 17 April, 1.30 p.m. The Rev. Professor W. Schmidt (Editor of *Anthropos*; Hon. Director, Pontificio Museo Missionario-Etnologico Lateranense): *Some Anthropological Notes from Switzerland and Austria*.
- 17 April, 2.15 p.m. Professor Dr. G. Lindblom (Statens Etnografiska Museum, Stockholm): *Anthropology and Ethnology in Sweden during the last seven years*.
- 17 April, 5 p.m. Professor H. V. Vallois (Institut de Paléontologie Humaine, Paris): *L'Anthropologie en France durant la guerre*.
- 17 April, 5.45 p.m. Professor G. H. Riviére (Conservateur du Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires, Professeur à l'Ecole du Louvre): *L'Organisation des musées d'ethnographie française*.
- 17 April, 6.30 p.m. Professor Sergio Sergi (Istituto Italiano di Antropologia, Rome): *I Paleantropi in Italia: Gli Uomini di Saccopastore e del Circeo*.
- 18 April, 1.30 p.m. Professor Dr. E. Tamagnini (Istituto de Antropologia, Universidade de Coimbra): *Progress in Portugal in anthropological and ethnological studies*.

18 April, 2 p.m. Dr. J. A. Valšík (Prague): *Work in Czechoslovakia during the War*.

18 April, 2.15 p.m. Professor Shevket Aziz Kansu (Ankara): *Anthropology in Turkey during the War*.

## The Social Organization of the Coorgs of South India.

**86** Summary of a Communication by M. N. Srinivas, Ph.D.: 19 March, 1946.

The Coorgs are an agricultural community (about 42,000), living in the tiny, mountainous province of Coorg, in South India.

The Coorgs live in large, patrilinear joint-families called *okkas*. The Coorg village is something quite different from the South Indian village (excluding however, Malabar). A few large *okkas*, not living very close to each other, form the Coorg village. Several sub-castes like the Brāhmans and Coorgs, and the trading, artisan, and serving castes live in it.

In the village assembly (*kūta*) all the castes except the Brāhmans and 'Untouchables' seem to play a part. The Coorg village assembly does not seem to be as inclusive as the Marātha village in which all the castes took part, nor as exclusive as the Malabar village, in which only the Nāyars took part.

One important fact is that while caste segregated people on the basis of eating, marriage, and other social matters, the village brought them together in many other matters like the festivals of village deities, and village work and defence.

Each Coorg *okka* is governed by the eldest male of the eldest agnatic branch. The *okka* is the social unit: each *okka* has to send representatives, one male and one female, for marriages, etc., in the village. The *takkāme* or social headship is hereditary in certain *okkas*.

Partition, cardinal to Hindu law, seems to have been very rare in Coorg till recently. Property seems to have descended intact from one generation to another. Levirate, and formerly, polyandry, seem to have added to the solidarity of the *okka*.

The most important ritual of marriage (called *sam-manda*) is the acquisition of rights by a woman in her husband's *okka*. Rights in an *okka* are so fundamental that society seems to have paid a great deal of attention to their clear definition under various circumstances like divorce and widowhood. Children born out of wedlock are legitimized and given *sam-manda* in *kutta parije* and *bendu parije* institutions.

As *okka* is fundamental, its continuity is a matter of the deepest concern to the Coorg. Adoption, *okka parije* and *makka parije* are some of the devices resorted to when the *okka* has no male heirs.

Cross-cousin marriage and the ceremonial importance of certain cognatic kin, like mother's-brother, set off the patrilineality of the *okka*. Neighbourliness is institutionalized in the *arura*.

The *takkas* are social heads. There are *takkas* for the village, *nāḍ* and *sīme* or *dēša*. The *takkas*, along with the village male adults, form the assembly which maintains the social code. Its sanctions are fine (*polevā u*) and excommunication (*poremadi*).

Institutionalized hatred between one *okka* and another is called *kuḍupī*: between one village and another, between one *nāḍ* and another, *maradale*.

A social aggregate like the *okka*, caste, village or *nāḍ* looks a whole only from without, and it is seen to be segmented when looked at from within. In other words, it is only when it is brought into relation with another unit of similar size, that an aggregate appears as a whole.

Once we remove the relation, the aggregate is seen to be

segmented. This feature of social structure seems to be widespread, and is worth investigating further.

#### Early Mining and Metallurgy Group

**87** A committee has been formed by the Early Mining and Metallurgy Group of the Royal Anthropological Institute, with a view to examining problems related to the early metals. It is felt that a central body should exist which will collate the researches done by scientists in various departments such as pure Metallurgy, Geology, and field Archaeology, and also promote co-operation with scholars in other countries. The Committee hopes to arrange for the scientific examination of metal objects with a view to determining their constituents and technique of manufacture. Such examination would be by means of spectroscopic or quantitative analysis, with metallographic research where necessary—for example, to establish the method of manufacture of certain very early tools and implements. Already the possibility exists for this to be done on a limited scale. Field archaeologists are urged to collaborate by supplying specimens of metal, especially copper; or, if their work lies in countries where all antiquities are retained, to send samples obtained by drilling.

Other branches of research will also be within the scope of the Committee, which should act as a channel for obtaining literature and information from abroad. One of the major questions for consideration will be the sequence and first use of metal followed by the dawn of

true metallurgy: a subject which is as yet far from clear. A major question within this sphere of research is that of native copper, the use of which is widely believed to have preceded smelted material. There is, however, little agreement as to the exact nature of native copper and as to how long such a phase (where it existed) lasted in certain regions.

Most fieldworkers have for some time realized that much more reliable light would be thrown on the development and inter-relation of early cultures if adequate information on mining and metallurgy were not lacking from various important areas; up to date it has been produced from some districts whilst others remain obscure. It is hardly necessary to point out that when the complete sequence and history of the metallurgy for a key site has been worked out, the information is not only valuable to those interested in the ancient metals, but it also gives very considerable aid in the dating of main or sub-periods.

In conclusion, the Committee hope to establish liaison and friendly relations with other bodies and societies interested in the subject, and that it will receive the support of those scholars whom it endeavours to serve. The initial membership is as follows: C. E. N. Bromhead, B.A., F.G.S., Prof. V. Gordon Childe, F.B.A., F.S.A., H. H. Coghlan, F.S.A. (Chairman), The Copper Development Association, Prof. C. H. Desch, F.R.S., A. Digby, Dr. Oliver Davies, C. F. C. Hawkes, F.S.A., Dr. W. Lamb, F.S.A., H. J. E. Peake, F.S.A., T. K. Penniman, Stuart Piggett, F.S.A., Dr. Plenderleith, Dr. J. Raftery, M.R.I.A.

## PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS

#### British Museum: Exhibition of Selected Specimens

**88** The British Museum has had a good thought in arranging an exhibition of selected specimens from five of its departments, to whet the appetite of the intelligent public for the return of the Museum to its ancient glory. At the same time its temporary exhibition has given an opportunity to show treasures in less crowded fashion than was usually the case before the war. One hopes that this may be an incentive to a great extension of the Museum as soon as such building becomes possible. An American visitor very aptly said recently that, had they the British Museum collections, they would probably build a whole town to exhibit them!

The exhibit which has drawn most attention has been that of the treasures from the grave of an Anglian king at Sutton Hoo, near Ipswich. There are ornaments in gold and in silver with the most precious Byzantine work decorated with garnets and glass, and it may be thought that this is the most beautiful as well as one of the most interesting finds of antiquity ever made in Western Europe.

The series illustrating evolution in British life follows an interesting sequence from the early part of the Old Stone Age down to the eve of modern times. Students pay their respects to the hand-axes of the Old Stone Age, found in 1797 by John Frere at Hoxne and described by him as belonging to 'a very remote period indeed; even beyond that of the present world.' The rich collections of prehistoric Irish gold make a brave show, and it is good to see once more the great shields of the Early Iron Age from Witham and Thames. Lindisfarne *Gospels*, many Books of Hours, church vessels, Renaissance ornament, pottery and porcelain of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are but a few of the

exhibits in this section, while there are also many parallels—at any rate for the historical periods shown—from Western Europe.

The classical section is given considerable space and has brought out a choice collection of figures, figurines, pots, gold and other ornaments. The section illustrating the art of China seems a little small in comparison, considering the great importance of the subject, but the objects shown are of great beauty, and the horses and grooms of the T'ang period are highly expressive. It is to be hoped that the exhibition of Indian art in the autumn of this year may give us a fuller opportunity for appreciating work of that country. Africa is represented by a very carefully selected group, chiefly of figures. There is the famous ivory head made in Benin in the sixteenth century with a head-dress of representations of the heads of Portuguese. Perhaps the most important of the African exhibits is the statue in wood of Shamba Bolongongo, the 93rd Great Chief of the Bushongo tribe, a great figure of African life and history who lived in the early seventeenth century. Near this statue is shown the bronze head from Ife in Southern Nigeria, dating probably from the fifteenth century or earlier, the only specimen of this bronze work in Britain; a similar head in terracotta is shown in an adjacent case.

Ancient America is represented by a small collection of the remarkable Mochica pots with their extraordinary expressive faces, by South American gold ornaments, and a small selection illustrating Mexican art, including the turquoise mosaics which Montezuma handed over to Cortes.

It is difficult to give an account that is more than a mere list, but one comes away from the exhibition feeling that here a brave attempt has been made to effect an

alliance between the scientific and the æsthetic. May we soon rejoice once more in the re-opening of the fuller collections.

H. J. FLEURE

**Antiquities of Malta.** By Hugh Brunt. *Summary of a Communication to the Society of Antiquaries of London.*

89

The island of Malta is formed of a mass of limestone rock: it is slightly larger in area than the Isle of Wight. The nature of the rock has made the island an ideal home for Man; from the earliest times, when innumerable natural caves provided accommodation, to the present era which finds the Maltese making good use of the ample supply of excellent building stone.

The island was occupied in Paleolithic times; relics of Neanderthal Man have been found in one large cave. These primitive people probably cultivated tiny plots of soil lying in the hollow places of the rocky hillsides. In Neolithic days, the inhabitants took to breaking up the rock to extend and combine these small plots; by moving the detached slabs downhill and aligning them along the contours a primitive system of terracing was evolved which prevented the soil exposed to wind and rain from being eroded away.

The detaching and removal of large slabs of rock led to the invention of megalithic building, which is first represented by sepulchral cists erected against a terrace revetment; this type of tomb is called by Maltese archaeologists a 'dolmenic niche.'

Later, great megalithic temples were founded; these were ingeniously constructed of interlocking orthostats and parastats, erected, without help from soil foundations, on the slippery surface of the bare rock. These temples may have at first been heliolithic enclosures; in their present form, however, they are bi-cellular, having antechamber and sanctuary entered through great dolmenic portals, the outermost set in a concave façade of huge orthostats.

Associated with these temples are oblation-slabs sculptured with convoluted designs and running friezes of animals; also large statues of grotesquely fat deities.

Another relic of what must have been a Great Age in Maltese pre-history is the unique 'Hypogeum,' a troglodyte temple having its walls hewn into a representation of megalithic architecture, and its rock ceilings painted with ochre in convoluted designs resembling the sculpture of the period.

The most remarkable Maltese antiquity is the system of prehistoric cart-ruts with which the Island is covered. They are hewn—not worn—in some places to a depth of two feet. There is direct evidence that they ante-date the Phœnician occupation of the island; further, nothing is known. A plausible theory is that they are connected with the transportation of soil for filling the elaborate

system of terracing which superseded the Neolithic alignments.

After the end of the 'Great Age,' there appears to have been a barbaric period during which important persons were entombed in tumuli, the rubble core of which was retained by walls fashioned of huge stones looted from the ruins of the temples. About forty feet in diameter, these tombs contained cists about twelve feet square formed of the same materials.

The Phœnicians are represented by shaft-tombs; many believe, also, that this race brought to Malta its language, which, although much diluted with Arabic and Italian words, is yet at root unique.

The shaft-tomb continued into Roman and Christian times; being, however, gradually superseded by the cliff-side tomb. Terrace-scarps as well as cliffs are honey-combed with this type of tomb, which generally has a semicircular-headed external reveal as if to hold a sealing-slab.

In Roman days, Malta became a *municipium*; a city containing monumental buildings was founded in the centre of the Island, as well as villas scattered over the countryside. Roman art in Malta is colonial, similar to that met with in North Africa. There are portable mosaics and portable statuary—the latter capable of being taken to pieces for shipment.

A short Byzantine occupation was succeeded by an Arab invasion which brought Islam to the Island and greatly affected the language of its inhabitants. Visible traces of the Arab occupation are limited to Kufic tombstones scattered amongst the ruins of the Roman capital.

The Middle Ages saw Malta exploited by various feudal families from all parts of Europe, from the tyranny of which, however, the Island's national government was able, in 1428, to achieve independence. Conversion to Christianity had been taking place during the fourteenth century; the first parochial system was inaugurated in 1436.

The arrival of the Knights of St. John in 1530 completely changed the Maltese scene. After the repulse of the terrible Turkish onslaught in 1565, the Island settled down to an era of affluence and culture; becoming an important outpost of the European Renaissance, which assisted the Maltese and their princely patrons to cover the country with fine buildings.

The surrender of the Knights to Napoleon in 1798 was soon after followed by the establishment of British rule.

Maltese archaeology is flourishing; a new survey of ancient monuments has just been completed. The Museum, however, is greatly in need of expert advice in connection with the exploration by skilled archaeologists of certain key sites and monuments. The library is hopelessly deficient in books and reports on comparative archaeology in the Mediterranean.

## CORRESPONDENCE

**The Study of 'Folkliv.'** Cf. MAN, 1945, 39 and 101.

90

I am grateful to Dr. Iorwerth C. Peate, himself a distinguished worker in the field of 'Folkliv,' for his remarks on my paper (MAN, 1945, 39). My own contribution, a humble exercise in definition, is the work of an interested outsider who is engaged in studies bordering on those embraced by 'Folkliv.' It is perhaps from the vantage-point of neighbouring and related studies that the need for defining the scope of 'Folkliv' is most acutely felt; but professors of this subject must obviously take the main responsibility for such a task on their own shoulders.

I welcome Dr. Peate's additions and corrections to my state-

ments concerning the terminology adopted in his department at the National Museum of Wales. It is apparent that a variety of terms has been in use, both of the parts and of the whole; nor is this surprising in a subject that is comparatively new in European museums and universities. When Dr. Peate takes me to task for mis-interpreting a statement which he recently made concerning his department, he is trying to cover up the undoubted incompleteness (to use a mild term) of that statement. What he said was thus:

'It is only some six years since the Department of Folk Culture was established in the National Museum of Wales, and it is the only department of its kind in all the museums

'of the Empire.' (*Dwyllant Gwerin Cymru*, Liverpool, 1942, p. ix.) Dr. Peate now states that he was referring only to national museums. I have made a mistake, it seems, in thinking that 'all the museums of the Empire' include a museum at Huddersfield.

Dr. Peate's agreement with the suggestion that 'Folk Life' should be used instead of 'Folk Culture' is based, as he emphasizes, on considerations entirely contrary to those advanced in my paper. It was the extensiveness of the term 'Folk Culture' which seemed to me to be at fault. Taken seriously, it would imply that 'Folk Culturists' would have to aim at encyclopaedic polymathy. It is apparently one of Dr. Peate's *ulées fices* that this extensiveness of aim must remain unrestricted. In using the term 'Folk Life' he would apply a still wider meaning than that denoted by 'Folk Culture.' 'But Life,' he says, 'is more comprehensive than Culture—the whole is greater than any one of its parts—and the term "Folk Life" is more satisfactory just for that reason.' When he goes on to say that no museum worker can perform his duties effectively if he ignores 'the higher forms of spiritual culture,' Dr. Peate is merely emphasizing the inter-relation of the material and spiritual forms, a fact which is not in dispute. He also expresses his personal opinion 'that 'Folk Studies are not to be delimited by date-lines.' If 'Folk Life' is to be interpreted in this all-embracing sense, rather than in the sense of 'the people's manner of life,' its suitability as a title is open to grave doubts.

In conclusion I quote from a review, published after my paper had been finished, which expresses similar criticisms. In *The Museums Journal* of October, 1944, pp. 119–120, Mr. R. U. Sayce reviews a paper by Dr. Peate on 'Folk Studies in Wales.' Mr. Sayce cannot be accused of being in any way out of touch with developments in this subject, for he has made notable contributions to it. In the course of his remarks (p. 119) he deals with the name 'Folk Culture':

'It is impossible for one subject to embrace *all* the culture of *all* the people. There can be few museums that would welcome a complete typological series of battleships or cathedrals. Nor would a folk museum be the proper place for a large collection of pictures by Gainsborough, Constable, Wilson, Steer, etc. It is obvious that we must in practice accept some restriction on the scope of our subject. . . . The time factor also requires our careful consideration. . . . Here we meet another problem—that of the relation between folk-culture on the one hand and history and archaeology on the other.' J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

*Postscript.*—Since the above was written, the Council of the National Museum of Wales has decided, on Dr. Peate's recommendation, to designate his department as that of 'Folk Life.' Lord Plymouth's offer to place St. Fagan's Castle at the Museum's disposal will probably mean that Dr. Peate's work will be extended to include an open-air folk museum on the Scandinavian model. It is to be hoped that financial difficulties will not impair this most promising prospect.

#### Basks and Mediterraneans. Cf. MAN, 1946, 21.

**91** In his note to my article (MAN, 1945, 54) on post-war language problems Mr. Harold Peake has raised an interesting and at once baffling problem. Who are the Basks? Where do they belong racially? What are their linguistic affinities?

Briefly there is no uniformity among the Basks; dolicho- or predominantly mesocephalic in Spain, they are brachycephalic in France. Nevertheless, many individuals of both groups exhibit a definite and characteristic appearance with a long, low head, long triangular face, a bulging forehead and narrow jaw' (J. S. Huxley and A. C. Haddon, *We Europeans*). Thus the modern Basks have at least something in common with (1) the Beaker-folk, (2) the Alpine core of Central Europe, and (3) one of the Etruscan groups.

But language can prove neither brachycephaly nor dolichocephaly. Ancient Iberian may just as well have been spoken by 'Mediterraneans' as by 'proto-Basks.' Language should never be lined up with race, or used as a racial argument—a principle which Max Müller stated over eighty years ago.

As to their language, the only hope of finding Bask affinities

elsewhere lies in the strict application of the comparative method. This is where Joseph Karst fails. The second book of his *Vorgeschichtliche Mitteleuropäer* (pp. 93–230) consists of an impressive array of similar-sounding words in Bask and a number of other widely separated languages, but there is no system either of phonology or of semantics, and no conclusions can be drawn. Likeness does not prove kinship.

Grammar and syntax demonstrate kinship almost as effectively as phonology, but the Finnish (*i.e.* non-Indo-European) verb strongly resembles the IE verb, while Turkish and Finno-Ugrian word-formation is strongly reminiscent of that of Georgian and Bask.

It is only when we apply the rules of phonology that we can produce convincing arguments. I will try to illustrate simply what this means. (The colon stands for 'corresponds to.')

#### Thesis I

Let English *stone* : German *Stein*  
Then *home* : German *Heim*  
*soap* : German *Seife*  
*oak* : German *Eiche*, etc.

By-law (1). English *deal* (verb) : German *teilen*  
*mean* .. : German *meinen*

(because in these examples the base-syllable was originally followed by *j* \**dailjan*, \**maidjan*.)

By-law (2). English *roe* : German *Reh*  
*toe* : German *Zehe*  
*snow* : German *Schnee*

(because in these examples the base-syllable was originally closed by *h* or *w*.)

Deduction : English *o* (*oa*, *oe*) corresponds to German *ei* (with variants as shown).

Therefore English is demonstrably related to German.

#### Thesis II

Let English *thou* : Russian *ty*  
Then Eng. *thousand* : Russian *tyssač*  
*sour* : Russian *syroĭ*  
*mouse* : Russian *mysĭ*  
*now* : Russian *nyne*

Deduction : (1) English *ou*, *ow* : Russian *y*; (2) English *th* : Russian *t*.

Therefore English is demonstrably related to Russian.

Similar comparative lists can be drawn up for any pair of Indo-European languages. The correspondence between them is exact, and once the laws and by-laws have been established, the primitive speech can be reconstructed from which they all derive.

With Bask we are on different ground. Casual likenesses are useless. The most we can do is to make an assumption as a starting-point and see if it produces an exact scheme on the lines of Thesis I and Thesis II.

There is a wide-spread Indo-European word for 'star,' *ásteros*, is beside *ásteron*, is (Hittite : *asteras*, Gk. : *astēr*, *astēros*, OHG : *sterno*, Breton : *stern*, Welsh : *seren*, Tocharic : *šren*, Tocharic B-dialect : *šerūn*, Persian : *astar*, with a doublet [loan-word ?] *sitāre*, Roman *stereā*, etc.). The Bask word for 'star' is *izar*.

Now if Bask *izar* is related to IE *ásteros*, then

Bask *i* : IE *ā*  
      : IE *st*  
      *ar* : IE *er*

The Kabyle word for 'star,' *ithri*, is just as likely (or unlikely) a cognate of *izar* as IE *ásteros*.

There is not much that we can deduce from this one example, which is meant to demonstrate method, not kinship. True, Bask *niz* (for *ni iz*) 'I am,' *hiz* (for *hi iz*) 'thou art' are forms which are strongly reminiscent of IE practice, while Bask *zar* 'old' at once suggests IE *sthāros* 'stiff, solid, old,' OSI : *sturā* 'old.'

Or let us take another example. If Bask *hi* 'thou' : IE *tū*, then Bask *h* : IE *t*, Bask *i* : IE *ū* (as well as *ā* in our first proposition). This tentative equation prompts the suggestion that Bask *hiru*, *hirur* 'three' : IE *tāsrā*, f. 'three' (Skr. *tisr*, Wel. *tair*).

As for Peake's suggestion of Bask affinity with Georgian, I can only say that I have found no evidence so far to warrant such a conclusion. But here again, the only line of approach with any hope of success is the one I have tried to demonstrate, e.g. if Bask *menli* 'mountain': Georgian *mtha* 'mountain,' then . . . etc. The only Georgian words that seem to me to have anything in common with the western languages are two metal words. Compare Georgian *thithberi* 'brass,' Bask *zithar* and *zil'ar* 'silver,' Gk. *sidēros*, on 'iron,' Lith. *silabras* 'silver,' Osl. *silbro* 'silver,' Goth. *silubr*, Eng. *silver*. This group of words, if related, certainly does not go back to an Indo-European type; indeed, the only form that would include them all would be *\*tsilēvr*, a reconstruction containing three distinctly non-IE phonemes: *ts*, *d*, and *v*.

There is also an interesting, but equally obscure word for 'gold.' Compare Georgian *qkhro*, Bask *urhe*, Armenian *coşgi*, Lithuanian *auksas*, Sabine *ausom*, Latin *aurum*, all meaning 'gold.' (Cf. Finnish *raski* 'copper.') I leave the Bask problem at that. STUART E. MANN

### Some Ancient Mines in Turkey

**92** During two and a half years in Turkey at the service of the British Council, I was able at their direction to visit some of the ancient mining-sites of the country. In view of the lack of accurate information about these sites, and the sometimes unscrupulous suppositions of archaeologists as to their antiquity, I have thought it desirable to summarize such results as I obtained, although most of them are negative:

*Ergani*. Chalcopyrite mine, at the town now known as Maden, a few miles west of Ergani, the former Arghana. The area seems to have been formerly in part forested. The ore-body was attacked by irregular shafts, many of which have become filled with a concreted mass of mud, gangue, chips of shale, twigs and so on. Fire-setting was probably not used. There still survive rows of wind-furnaces, with tuyère entering at the side of each; they were probably domed, and perhaps demolished after each smelting. I found one stone muller, but no other tools. Literary records show that the exploitation at Ergani was important in the thirteenth century A.D. I could find no evidence whatever of earlier working, and think it probable that the traditional date of the discovery of the ore-body, A.D. 1096, is accurate.

*Keban*. A large number of scattered workings on veins of argentiferous galena on both banks of the Euphrates. The mine was largely exploited in the nineteenth century. The earliest workings are on a ridge just north of the town. I here found one stone muller, and there is much slag on the slope. Although I cannot produce positive evidence, I do not think that these workings are very old, probably not older than the fifteenth-sixteenth century.

*Çam Dağı*. There is an area of small mineral deposits on both banks of the Sakarya River about fifteen miles from its mouth. Only two places, where there are deposits of argentiferous galena, seem to have been anciently exploited. The finding of plates of litharge on the slagheaps would show that the metal was de-silvered. The two places are İbrik Deresi, south-east of Karasu, and the west bank of the Sakarya, three miles north of Akçukur. Such ancient workings as can be seen are irregular shafts sloping steeply, without stylistic features. It is impossible to assign them to any definite date.

*Bakirli*. Large, ancient copper-mines, about six miles west of Aşağı Beyköy on the border of the vilayets of Ayvalık and Bergama. There are four big opencasts and a good deal of pitting. The contours of the tips are very flat. No slag is to be found. Although positive evidence is lacking, I got the impression from style that this mine was an important scene of exploitation in the Greek or Roman period; it would lie within the boundaries of the kingdom of Pergamum, which also opened the large workings of Balia to the north.

*Asarköy*. Close to this village, which lies between Yukarı and Aşağı Beyköy, is an iron-slagheap on the hill-slope, where water-power for bellows could not have been used. I saw iron-slag also a short way to the west, near Demirci Dere. The latter name indicates that iron was worked here in Turkish times, or at least that the tradition of its working survived.

*Eski Maden*. About five miles north-west of Bergama is a small working for chalcopyrite and galena. It shows no typical stylistic features, and is no more than grubbing at a mass of narrow veins. The working cannot be dated.

*Bakirli*, twenty-five kilometres from Çankiri. There were formerly visible the remains of two old workings for copper and iron; but they have been destroyed by recent trials.

*Süleyman Köyü* north-east of Kastamonu. I found a piece of iron-slag on an Iron Age site associated with one of the great rock-cut tombs found in this part of the country.

*Küre* (also called *Bakır Kuresi*), south of İnebolu. Important workings on a large vein of pyrites and chalcopyrite. Wooden tools have been found. There is slag both beside the stream and on the slopes. The oldest heaps seem to be just to the south of the vein above the town; on them I found a hammer-stone. Küre was a very important town in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries. I could find no evidence of Roman occupation or working in this area, and think it unlikely that the mine was known to the Romans. The mountain would have been densely forested, and the vein is unlikely to have been discovered until a road was opened from Kastamonu to the sea; this again would depend on the growth of Kastamonu, whose castle was probably founded in the later Byzantine period. O. DAVIES

### Melanesians and Papuans

**93** At the turn of the century the late Dr. A. C. Haddon suggested that the natives of the south-west Pacific were of two physical types, to which he gave the names Melanesians and Papuans. This suggestion was adopted and has been repeated a number of times. Dr. Haddon, however, was acquainted with only the south coast of Papua, and it was not until a generation later that the interior of New Guinea was explored. In the course of the past few years I have been from one end of Australian New Guinea to the other, and from the northernmost island of the Solomons to the most southerly. My statement that Dr. Haddon's suggestion is without foundation is thus based on a more extensive knowledge of the area than he could at the time have possessed.

The many dialects may be grouped into two linguistic families, Melanesian on the south-east and parts of the north-east coast of New Guinea and on most of the islands to the north and east, and Papuan in western and central New Guinea, here and there on the north-east coast, parts of New Britain, parts of Bougainville, and the Russell Islands, between Guadalcanal and New Georgia; but the distribution of languages has no relation to the race of those who speak them. What has happened is that distinct local types have developed, probably through isolation—the Kiwai type, the Hula type, the Huon Gulf type, the Buang type, the Hagen type, the Chimbu type, the Bena-Bena type, and the New Georgia type, to mention only a few. Four of these, the Hula, the Huon Gulf, the Buang, and the New Georgia, have Melanesian languages, and the other four, the Kiwai, the Hagen, the Chimbu, and the Bena-Bena, Papuan languages. All are Pacific negroids, but each is in some respects unique; thus the slight pale-skinned Hula are unlike the stalwart brown Huon Gulf people, the tiny Buangs, their neighbours, and the coal-black New Georgians; and the tall dark Kiwai could not possibly be mistaken for the stocky yellow-brown Hagen population, the slightly taller Chimbu, or the slender Bena-Bena. H. IAN HOGGIN

### Feminine Disabilities and Gender. Cf. MAN, 1945, 77.

**94** SIR.—Can it be that Lord Raglan, in addition to being proverbially provocative, has lapsed into the error of being illogical? On reading his letter on 'Feminine Disabilities' in MAN, 1945, 77, one can only conclude that he formed an extravagant theory and then searched for evidence to support it.

The sex symbolism described exists mainly in the Mediterranean area. If we move north to the Teutonic languages we find that the symbolism is vastly different; e.g. *die Sonne*, *der Mond*, and *die See* (the masculine form both in German and Anglo-Saxon is of later origin). South of the Sahara

we find the Hausa *rana* (f.) sun; *wata* (m.) moon; and *taiku* (f.) sea. The Hausas also use the Arabic word *bahar* (m.) sea.

One has only to visit unsophisticated and uneducated peoples such as Africans or the Irish peasantry to realize that sex symbolism is far from exclusively related to the productive function. *Inter alia*, those things which are strong and cruel are masculine, while the weak and soothing are feminine. In the north the sun brings welcome relief from the cold winter nights, and the wind is cold. The German races were only acquainted with the gentle lakes until their westward migrations brought them to the rough North Sea. In the Hausa area of the Sudan the sun is the normal stable environment, while the moon brings cruel cold in the nights of December and January. The Harmattan wind which parches the land is also masculine (but sometimes feminine), and likewise the dry season, while the wet season (which, being the seed which fertilizes the soil, should be masculine according to Lord Raglan) is feminine. The inland Hausas have a feminine sea, while the coastal Arabs have a masculine sea.

So in the natural division of labour, men do tasks requiring strength while women do the light tasks near home. Of course women do agriculture miles away from home! When agriculture started it was little more than kitchen gardening. The division of labour having arisen women continued to do agriculture even after increased populations and organized agriculture necessitated shifting cultivation. Men only turned to agriculture after they had tamed the ox, or in forest areas where they did not hunt.

Finally, we have the potter's wheel, which is feminine north of the Romance area, e.g. *die Töpferscheibe*. I defy even Lord Raglan to suggest in seriousness that the Germans or any other nation were capable of producing an adequate number of women with sufficiently muscular hands to make a going concern of the pottery industry in an area the size of Northern Europe. Granted that the potter's wheel travelled north by diffusion, then if its maleness diffused with it, surely it is surprising that the name *die Scheibe* follows the feminine *Sonne*. This indicates that the symbolism can apply to the tools of a craft without applying to the worker.

If one must look for origins, then, surely the origins of feminine disabilities go back far beyond the days when they could have been influenced by the sex symbolism of Egypt. Customs have a disconcerting habit of starting in a purely utilitarian manner (such as the strength of man as opposed to the woman burdened by her child and home), and only become irrational when techniques or requirements alter while the associated rituals remain unchanged.

R. T. D. FITZGERALD

St. Thomas' Hospital, London, S.E.1

#### Feminine Disabilities. Cf. MAN, 1945, 77.

**95** SIR,—Professor Hutton (MAN, 1946, 23), says that 'under primitive conditions men hunt because pregnant women cannot run.' But non-pregnant women can run; why should they not hunt? Moreover, much hunting takes forms which do not involve running; for example, the trapping and snaring of small animals and birds. I know of no instance in which women do this, though they are usually accustomed to going long distances through the forest for food, water, and fuel.

Is it more difficult and dangerous to milk a mare than a cow? And is it really chivalry which assigns this task to men?

Professor Hutton says that tree-felling is too heavy for women, but Mills says that the Ao Nagas never fell big trees, but merely lop the branches. It is the same in the Sudan, so far as my experience goes. Lopping, and the felling of small trees, is done by repeated taps with a small axe. This work, though always performed by men, calls for perseverance rather than strength. Both men and women wield the heavy long-handled hoe, and carry the same head-loads.

Our grandfathers believed women to be physically incapable of using a gun, rifle or salmon-rod, and of riding astride. It will hardly now be maintained that this belief was founded on anything more than custom. RAGLAN

#### Sales of Land among the Igbo of Nnewi. Cf. MAN, 1945, 47.

**96** SIR,—The interesting letter of Mr. Field on sales of land among the Igbo of Nnewi (MAN, 1945, 47), has a remark which is not quite correct, viz. 'The custom has not arisen through the importation of alien ideas of land tenure, for the Nnewis have had little, if any, opportunity of coming in contact with such ideas.' This isolation is not my view of Nnewi.

In 1916 I was the Political Officer in charge of labour on the construction of the Port Harcourt—Enugu Railway. I quote from an old Manifold book. 'To Mr. Jukes, Nnewi. Here—with the Nnewi chief who is going to do contract work on the Ifona bank with 200 men. . . . M. D. W. Jeffreys. '1.7.16.' So far back as thirty years ago these Igbos were in contact with such new ideas as contract-work. The main trading centres of the Nnewis are Onitsha and Enugu, with which they have been in contact for more than thirty years, and in which sales of land are not new or recent.

Nnewi natives, crowded 1,000 to the square mile, have entered the Government Service as e.g. Police Constables, and being stationed at such large centres become, from their official position, well aware of sales of land. On returning to Nnewi for leave, the most pressing family problem that they meet is insufficient land, and their knowledge of how land is acquired elsewhere is easily passed on.

The diffusion of culture still takes place.

Bamenda, British Cameroons

M. D. W. JEFFREYS

#### Camel's Teeth in Secondary Burials

**97** SIR,—In 1944, I was stationed in Baalbek, Lebanon, and, with the help of some of my East African *askaris*, did some digging in the necropolis, called Charaouni, north of the old Roman wall. Here there are numerous graves, some cut in the vertical face of rock walls, and others sunk vertically into solid rock. All the visible graves have been cleaned out by local people looking for gold ornaments to sell to curio-dealers.

The only hope of finding an unripped grave is to locate one under the present surface of the fields.

A Lebanese, seeing us digging, came along, and showed us how to find these underground graves. His method was to thump the ground with a pick, until he located a rock face by the different ring, and then to dig down in front of the rock.

By this method he had found two Roman graves on his own land, at the other side of the town, from which he had got a gold face mask, for which he had got a good price.

I saw these graves, and there was nothing on the surface to indicate their existence.

We were not so fortunate, but after some searching we did find an undug crypt.

This was of the same type as those cut in the exposed rock faces. It was a rectangular vault hewn out of solid rock, leaving a roof about three feet thick, and with three burial platforms each six feet long, one opposite the door, and one on each side, with some three feet headroom over the platforms and six feet over the space between the door and these shelves. The door was some two feet six inches high by two feet, and was sealed by a slab of rock. The vault was three-quarters full of earth.

In this earth we found one iron hook, about 5 inches long; one circular, flat, white stone, half an inch thick, three inches in diameter, with a large circular hole—probably a weight for a loom; some land-snail shells of species at present living in the neighbourhood; and large pieces of broken pottery. Of these, eleven were red fluted, forty-seven plain red, eight gray fluted, nine gray plain, and four glazed of the common Middle East type.

The human bones were very broken and spongy. Not even the jaw bones were whole, and they had been piled higgledy-piggledy on the shelves. From the teeth collected from one shelf, Capt. Kay of the Army Dental Corps identified two adults, one of about sixteen and one child of four.

On the top of the earth on this shelf were five camel's teeth, which had apparently been thrown there just before the grave was sealed.

My Lebanese friend said that he had always found camel's



teeth in graves which had been filled up with earth, and there were never any ornaments in such graves.

He claimed twelve years' experience digging at Baalbek and at Nahle.

This was obviously a 'secondary' burial. The absence of ornaments points to it not being Roman. In other grave shafts the proportion of glazed pottery was higher, which would seem to indicate a date when this type was not very common.

Has this custom of putting camel's teeth into communal vaults before sealing been reported before? And to what race is it to be attributed?

I asked several well-educated Syrians these questions, but could get no answer.

Are these burials possibly of pre-Islam Semites?

*Kimala Estates, P.O. Kitale, Kenya Colony* G. BOLTON

### Ethnological Notes to the Leviathan Legends

**98** Till now very few cosmogonical legends are known from Hungary. Those known, however, are of the utmost importance from an ethnological point of view, as they form the connecting link between European and Asiatic superstition.

The Hungarian Leviathan Legends are especially remarkable. In the county of Baranya popular superstition holds that the Earth is supported by oxen. When the big fishes alight on them these oxen shake themselves and cause earthquake.<sup>1</sup> At the same place another superstition is widespread in which four bears support the Earth on their shoulders. When one shoulder of the bears get tired they throw the Earth on to their other shoulders and at such times we feel earthquake.<sup>2</sup> In Transylvania a buffalo supports the Earth.<sup>3</sup> By Hungarians of Transylvania the Leviathan Legends are connected with the whale. In the country of Torda and Torockó the folk-belief is that the Earth is round and surrounded by water, and the firmament, far-far-away, rests upon the Earth. The Earth, with the surrounding firmament bending on it, is supported by four or five whales. In every seventh or thirteenth year the whales move themselves and at such times earthquake is caused.<sup>4</sup> Among the Hungarian folk of Kalotaszeg near Kolozsvár, also the superstition holds that the whale supports the Earth; but here the number of the earth-supporting whales are one, three, four or seven. In every seventh year the whales turn themselves and at such times they cause earthquake. If the earthquake causes much damage they explain this by the death of one of the whales. They impute the destruction of biblical Sodom and Gomorrah to the death of a whale.<sup>5</sup> The earth-supporting whales are known by Hungarian folk of the valley of Black-Körös, of the county of Temes, Bacshodrog, the county of Baranya and of surroundings of Balaton.<sup>6</sup> According to the most recent accounts the whale-legend may be said to be general among Hungarians. According to the Leviathan Legend recorded in the neighbourhood of Göcsej (county of Zala) the Earth stands in water, and has four corners. Each corner is supported by a whale floating in the water. In every second year the whales turn themselves or put the Earth from one shoulder to the other; at such times are the earthquakes. If one of the whales perishes the corner of the Earth supported by it sinks down.<sup>7</sup>

The group of Hungarian Leviathan Legends in which oxen and buffaloes are the animals supporting the Earth undoubtedly is of Eastern origin. Similar legends appear also among the Turkish folk of Asia.<sup>8</sup>

The problem now is: Of what origin is the whale-motive? The whale-motive also appears among the Eastern Turkish folk as it is known from U. Harva's great work. But the same motive appears among the surrounding folk, as well,—

Roumanians,<sup>9</sup> and Russians<sup>10</sup>—for example. The Earth-supporting whales are also mentioned by the Sacred Books and Apocrypha of the Bulgarian Bogomil sect. In a Bogomil manuscript of the sixteenth century Leviathan Legend reminiscences are in the form of questions and answers,<sup>11</sup> as follows:

*John*: Tell me what supports the earth?

*Christ*: Great Water.—

*John*: What supports the great water?

*Christ*: A big stone.—

*John*: What supports the big stone?

*Christ*: Four golden whales.—

*John*: Who supports these whales?

*Christ*: A fiery river.—

*John*: What supports this river?

*Christ*: A fire that is hotter than all the fires.—

To my mind the whale-motive of the Leviathan Legends does not belong to the most ancient belief of Hungarians and other East European folks. The probability is that the Hungarians and the East-European folks had taken this notion from the teachings of Eastern sects.

The belief about the animals causing earthquake is rooted in very ancient North Eurasian popular superstition. *Ebert Ysbrant* publishes—in his work on his travels in Siberia in 1692—that, according to the belief of Yakuts, Tunguses, and Ostiaks, the mammoths dwell in large underground cavities. From these they never come out, but they walk about. While they are walking to and fro the stratum above them suddenly rises and then falls down. Thus are originated the deep precipices.<sup>12</sup> This Mammoth Legend undoubtedly is much older than the legends of the earthquake-causing animals. On the other hand the two legend-types are so similar to each other that there must be a certain kinship. The only way of imagining the kinship between them is that the mammoth-legends of the North—probably even in prehistoric times—have evolved, in South Eurasia, the legends of the earthquake-causing animals.

BÉLA GUNDA

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> J. Berze-Nagy: *Hungarian Folk-tradition of Baranya*. (In Hungarian.) II, Pécs, 1940, p. 611.

<sup>2</sup> J. Berze-Nagy: *l.c.* III, p. 322.

<sup>3</sup> J. Jankó: *The Hungarian Folk of Kalotaszeg*. (In Hungarian.) Budapest, 1892, p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> J. Jankó: *The Hungarian (Sicilian) Folk of Torda, Aranyos-zék, Torockó*. (In Hungarian.) Budapest, 1893, p. 231.

<sup>5</sup> J. Jankó: *The Hungarian Folk of Kalotaszeg*, p. 186.

<sup>6</sup> Zs. Szendrey: *The living Belief of the Folk*. (In Hungarian.) *Ethnographia*, XLIX, Budapest, 1938, p. 270.

<sup>7</sup> F. Goncz: *Göcsej*. (In Hungarian.) Kaposvár, 1914, p. 181.

<sup>8</sup> G. Jungbauer: *Marchen aus Turkestan und Tibet*. Jena, 1923, p. 292; W. Radloff: *Aus Sibirien*, Vol. II, Leipzig, 1892, p. 6; U. Harva: *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altasiatischen Völker*, Helsinki, 1938, pp. 142.

<sup>9</sup> F. Pápai Vajna: *The Superstitions and Popular Traditions of Oláhlapid*. (In Hungarian.) *Ethnographia*, XVIII, Budapest, 1907, p. 218.

<sup>10</sup> D. Zelenin: *Russische (ostslavische) Volkskunde*. Berlin, 1927, p. 897.

<sup>11</sup> A. Strausz: *Bulgarian Folk-belief*. (In Hungarian.) Budapest, 1897, pp. 19–20.

<sup>12</sup> Isbrants Ides, E., Ambassadeur de Moscovie: *Voyage de Morcon à la Chine*, in Jean Frederic Bernard: *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, VIII, Amsterdam, 1727, p. 49.







1. PERFORMERS, CHORUS AND ORCHESTRA



2. STAGE-HOUSE, ENSIGN AND DANCERS



3. SPECTATORS' SEATS AND DANCERS

## A DEVIL-DANCE IN LAHOUL

*(Photographs by the late F. Waterfield, I.C.S.)*

# MAN

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES

**A DEVIL-DANCE IN LAHOUL AND THE PRIMITIVE DRAMA OF GREECE.** *By the late F. Waterfield, I.C.S.; edited by Sir John Myres, F.B.A. Illustrated*

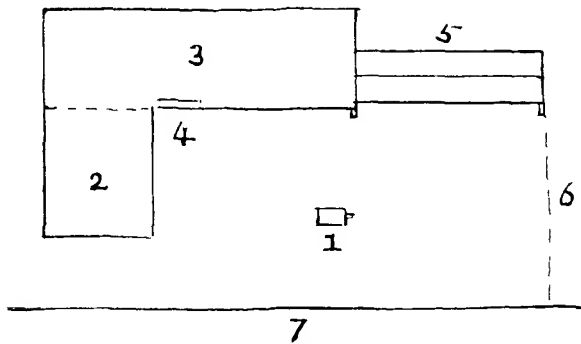


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF THE DANCING GROUND

1. Mast and stone box
2. Orchestra's gallery
3. Monastery building
4. Entrance and exit
5. Three tiers of seats
6. Open ground
7. Precipitous descent

**99** The following account of a dramatic performance at a Buddhist Monastery in Lahoul, on the Tibetan border of India, was sent to me in August, 1905, by my late pupil, F. Waterfield, I.C.S., who had witnessed it about ten days before he wrote :

The dance was got up for our benefit at one of the smaller monasteries. It is professedly Buddhist, but Buddha has quite a side place in the shrine, and they are really worshippers of nature gods. It must be rather like Greek dances a hundred years before Æschylus : supposing that Greek drama did not always go round in a cart.

There was a regular dancing-floor (fig. 1). In the centre was a mast, with a prayer-flag (seen in Plate E (2)) : also a kind of stone box which cannot be an altar, and I forgot to enquire what it meant. The plan is like this : [Fig. 1]

When we toiled up to the monastery, about 300 feet above the dak-bungalow, trumpets and shawms started off—an overture—no discernible tune but a healthy noise. They were on the roof which I call "orchestra's gallery" in the plan. There was no other wind-music except a blast at the beginning of each act.

The music of the dance was cymbals and drums entirely, all in anapaests (— — —). If you put the edges of cymbals together, you get a vibration of a lot of little notes, something like a tuning fork. They did this at every third foot, over and over again. The cymbals and drums were played by the senior monks and the abbot. The abbot has the cymbals in his lap, near the middle of Plate E (1), third to the left of the drum, with his left shoulder against a pillar.

This dance was subdivided into three acts : I. *pas des deux diables* ; II. full chorus of devils ; III. full chorus of monks. There was no change of clothes, but the devils became monks by taking off masks and putting on black fur hats—London fashions of a few years back [from 1905]—as in Plate E (3). In Act III the dancers stopped occasionally, while the abbot and one or two more sang a little chant under their breath : then they all broke out into the anapaests and cymbals again.

The dancing was most energetic, mostly a bound on to one foot, and a turn on it, like turning on one foot skating. One or two of the company had really fine Chinese boots on, but some only the straw sandal



STAGE-HOUSE, SPECTATORS' SEATS AND DANCERS

of the country. The old man in the middle front of the group (Plate E (1)) was a kind of *corypheus*. He did not lead the chorus, but he always came on first and went off last, and was supposed to prompt, if anybody went wrong in the dances. In the most complicated dances the real leader, one of the two horned beasts (Plate E (1)) howled occasionally to signal a change, but otherwise there was no singing except the abbot's little chant: and that was "sung off." The two little boys in the masks in the front row came round with the hat [for offerings] and only appeared for that purpose. On the right of the group, sitting, is a tall old nun. You can just see her prayer-wheel, but as she would not keep it still, it is blurred. With the other hand she was telling her beads, and both hands were hard at work the whole time, 1½ hours. No doubt she "acquired merit."

All the dancers had symbols in their hands: daggers, swords, lotus, and other things that I could not make out.

The exits were odd. They formed up in file with the front man at the left of the tiers of spectators (see plan). The rest stood still, and he had about ten bars to dance himself, down past the abbot opposite the door, and then he walked up the steps and into the house. Then No. 2 danced off, and so to the last.

One could not make out much story: but then, one only had selections: the full dance at the proper festival, I suspect, takes all day. If one only saw sections of the *Ring* without knowing German or the legend, I expect one would not make much of it.

I expect the dance as monks, at the end, is superimposed by Buddhism on the old native dances, which take place at the beginning of the summer, in June. The Buddhists may have let the old devil-dance go on and added a last act showing the devils danced out by their monks.

Now as to [the parallel with] Greece. Let these

devils be the old Titan-worship. Can pure Buddhism and this popular Buddhism correspond to the "pukka" Dionysiac mysteries and the popular drama respectively? What I am driving at is that the tragic mask may be the mask of an old devil-dance or Titan-dance: I say "Titan" from reminiscences of the *de Corona* passage.

As to the *cothurnus*. These performers danced in the *soccus*: and if the old *cothurnus* did not begin with Æschylus, the old chorus must have been much less energetic. About the *cothurnus* I only remember a theory that it was to add dignity to the actors. I do not believe this. It would not add dignity; it would make them clumsy, and people of Æschylus' time would know better. Or why not give it to gods, and not to men, much less to messengers and people like Thersites? Is it not a barbaric survival, like the mask: and till rationalization began, people had not the sense to get rid of it? Now if you want a tall chorus, you want buskins, and the chorus, if it was originally a devil-dance, represented the Titans. My idea is that the new rites captured the old devil-dance, and after letting Dionysus be "tarred and feathered"—Phillimore's words on the *de Corona* passage—you had your hero brought out all right as the conquering religion in the last act. The new religion was not pure or peaceful enough to do away with the old devil-dances, so it adopted them: as Buddhism has in the obscure Lahoul valley. The dancing floor, the *thymele* box—that probably was an altar before Buddhism came and stuck a mast on to it, and a flag—and the *corypheus*, all correlate, but I do not press them. Indeed I don't press anything, because Dionysus was such a late deity in Greece.

If the old chorus was of Satyrs, we have the two-fold dancing of (1) energetic little devils, dancing wildly, in *soccus*; (2) big devils (Titans), slow and stately, in *cothurnus*.

I like India. Any scholar suffering from "Bumpsterhausen and blue follicles" should try the Punjab.

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**ETHNOLOGICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES IN SWEDEN DURING THE WAR.** *A communication by Professor Gerhard Lindblom, Director, Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm, to the Royal Anthropological Institute: 17 April, 1946*

**100** Science in general was able to carry on fairly normally in Sweden during the war years. State grants to State institutions, museums and universities were cut down, however, and the work and possibilities of development of these institutions were reduced accordingly; further, many people lost time through being called up for military service for three or four years or more. In the anthropological field this applied to students of conscription age in the first

place, but also to older people up to 46 years of age. In the case of former officers and officers in the reserve, the age-limit was still higher, up to 65 years, and these too were called up for long periods. As a result, studies and scientific work, which had been begun, were interrupted or delayed, but such inconveniences might be said to be trifling in comparison with those in the belligerent countries. Professor Lindblom himself was in military service for only a short period.

There were two Swedish museums at which general ethnology was represented, one the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm, and the other the Ethnographical Museum in Gothenburg, a department of the Gothenburg Museum. The former might be considered among the largest in the world, judged by the size of the collections. Unfortunately, its building problems had not yet been solved, only the collections from Eastern Asia being open to the general public. In the autumn of 1939, however, the Government commissioned plans for new buildings on the museum site (which has an area of 25,000 sq. metres), but it had not been decided when the work should begin. Since the autumn of 1939 the museum had lent some of its buildings for military purposes, and not all have as yet been handed back. In the autumn of 1939 the most valuable part of the collections had been evacuated and were not returned until October, 1945; fortunately, they were found to be undamaged. Apart from an initial period, they had been stored in air-raid shelters blasted out of solid rock; for there is plenty of granite in Sweden.

Little had been acquired during the war years, but in 1940 they received a collection from the Arabs and Berbers of Tunis, made by the Arabian artist Aly ben Salem, who formerly worked at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. According to him there is but little material of this kind left in Tunis since the war swept over the country. To this was added a collection made in various parts of Morocco in 1943 by Professor G. Bolinder.

The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm, continued to issue its publications without interruption, including *Ethnos*, an international periodical started in 1936. It is still the only publication of its kind in the Scandinavian countries and Finland.

Since the time of Erland Nordenskiöld the Ethnographical Museum at Gothenburg has been known for its excellent collections from South America. Nordenskiöld's successor, Dr. Walter Kaudern, whose own special field was Celebes, died suddenly in 1942 and was succeeded by Dr. Karl Gustav Izikowitz, who was known among other things for his field work in French Indo-China. The series *Ethnological Studies*, which was started by Dr. Kaudern, has not appeared since 1941, but Dr. Izikowitz intends to resume publication as soon as finances permit.

At the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Professor J. G. Andersson was succeeded in 1939 by the eminent sinologist Bernhard Karlgren, previously Rector of Gothenburg University. This institution deals chiefly with the archaeology and cultural history of China before the birth of Christ, and since 1939 seven volumes of the *Bulletin* have appeared, one of them containing Andersson's *Researches in the Pre-*

*history of the Chinese* (1943, pp. 300, with 200 plates). The lectures on the Chinese language which Professor Karlgren has given at the University of Stockholm since 1945 have attracted about thirty pupils, a very satisfactory number for a country of Sweden's size.

The Northern Museum continued its investigations into Swedish culture, both that of the people generally and of the upper classes in ancient and modern times. Ernst Manker was appointed head of the Lapp Department in 1939, having previously worked at the State Ethnographical Museum, where he specialized in the cultures of Africa, especially the Belgian Congo, and of Micronesia. At the Northern Museum Manker has now launched an investigation on a broad basis into the whole of Lapp culture in Sweden, as well as a series of publications, *Acta Lapponica*, four volumes of which have appeared. The first of them is the richly illustrated descriptive Part I of Manker's own work, *Der Lappische Zaubertrommel*.

In the State Historical Museum, with its rich collections from the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages of Sweden and from the Middle Ages, the ancient gold and silver objects are probably the finest of their kind in the world. (In 1943 the general public was given access to these in a new and spacious building, formerly a military barracks, reconstructed. This museum contained about 165,000 coins (from some 700 treasure-finds), of which 56,200 were Arab, and 34,100 Anglo-Saxon, of the Viking period, said to be the largest collection of Anglo-Saxon coins in existence. The Historical Museum contains some comparative material from outside Sweden, chiefly Egyptian collections and the well-known archaeological collections which Swedish research-workers brought back from Cyprus.

Professor T. J. Arne retired from his position at the Historical Museum in 1944. His great work, *Excavations at Shah Tepé, Iran* (1944, pp. 366, with 92 plates) appeared in 1944 as one volume of the *Reports from the Sino-Swedish Expedition*, which had notably included monographs by Dr. Gösta Montell, *An Ethnographer in China and Mongolia, 1929-32* (1945) and *Spinning Tools and Spinning Methods in Asia* (1941); by F. Bergman, *Archæological Researches in Sinkiang* (1939); by C. M. Fürst, *The Skeletal Material collected during the Excavations of Dr. T. J. Arne in Shah Tepé at Astrabad-Gorgan in Iran* (1939); by V. Sylwan, *Woollen Textiles of the Lou-lan People* (1941); by F. D. Lessing in collaboration with G. Montell, *Yung-Ho-Kung: An Iconography of the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking, with Notes on Lamaist Mythology and Cult, Part I* (1942); by C. H. Hjortsjö and A. Walander, *Das Schädel- und Skelett-gut der archäologischen Untersuchungen in Ost-Turkistan* (1942); and by H. Haslund-Christensen, K. Grønbech

and E. Emsheimer, *The Music of the Mongols, Part I, Eastern Mongolia*.

At the two State universities, Uppsala and Lund, there is still no chair of General and Comparative Ethnography, as the study of general ethnology is called in Sweden. Since the end of 1944, however, Dr. S. Lagercrantz, the Africanist, has been Lecturer (Docent) in this subject at Uppsala. At the municipal University of Stockholm, Professor Lindblom himself has been giving instruction in ethnography since 1933, in addition to his museum work, but not until 1945 was the subject given the same status as others and then only provisionally for as long as he could be responsible for the teaching and examining. Before 1945 Ethnography had been a so-called 'permissive' subject, that is to say, the students had to apply for a Government permit to include it in their degree work: a permit which was, however, never refused. Professor Lindblom's colleagues at the Ethnographical Museum, Dr. Sigvald Linné, and Dr. Montell, held the title of Docent in General and Comparative Ethnography at Stockholm University, but carried out no duties there.

At the University of Gothenburg, Erland Norden-skiöld had held a professorship financed by a donation, and no fresh appointment was made after his death. Dr. Izikowitz, with the title of Docent, is now giving lectures there, and the outline for the course is in process of approval by the Chancellor of the Swedish universities. Dr. Izikowitz emphasizes the social side of anthropology, which has not always received in Sweden the attention it deserves.

Nordic Ethnology is in a better position than the study of foreign cultures. Professor Sigurd Erixon holds a chair supported by private donations, the professorship being associated both with the Northern Museum and with Stockholm University. Some years ago Erixon was able to found an Institute for Research into the Life of the People (*Folklevsforskning*) in a former private house of generous dimensions, presented for the purpose and conveniently close to the Northern Museum. The Institute receives some contributions from the State and the municipality, but is chiefly supported from private sources. The first instalments of an atlas of Swedish folk-culture will soon appear, and a number of publications on building traditions and Swedish settlements has already been issued. The great series of 30 volumes on Nordic Culture will shortly complete its picture of prehistoric and mediaeval life and of the traditions of those times surviving to-day, scholars from all the northern countries having collaborated in this enterprise. The well-illustrated periodical *Folk-Liv* has continued, although the volume for 1945 is not yet in print.

In the sphere of Nordic Ethnology, Dag Trotzig

produced a monograph on the flail and other threshing implements (1943) and thereupon was appointed Docent at Stockholm University, just before his untimely death. Julius Ejdestam wrote a distinguished thesis on 'Fires celebrating Spring.' Among larger works was a symposium on the history of the working-class, in which members of the staff of the Northern Museum described workmen's lives on feast-days and weekdays (2 volumes). Of local studies there was one on the old folk culture of Upper Dalecarlia by Dr. Lars Levander of Uppsala and an account of the colonization of Southern Lapland by O. P. Pettersson.

Dr. Sigfrid Svensson of the Northern Museum is about to be appointed professor of 'Nordic and Comparative Researches, especially Ethnographical, into the Life of the People' at Lund University. He will be succeeding C. W. von Sydow, whose professorship had been called that of 'Nordic and Comparative Researches into the Culture of the People,' the change thus indicating an increased stress on ethnology. At Uppsala there was no corresponding chair, but research work into both language and folk-lore is carried on by the Dialect Archive at Uppsala, where Dr. Åke Campbell, known for his field-work in Eire, is Docent in Nordic Ethnology at the University. It is of interest that Dr. Israel Ruong, a Lapp who had worked with the Archive, has taken a Ph.D. degree with a dissertation on *Lappische Verbalableitung* (Uppsala, 1943). During the war the Archive continued to issue *Svenska Landsmål och Svenskt Folkliv* and useful questionnaires.

There is no chair in Physical Anthropology in Sweden, and hitherto only one student, B. Lundman, has passed an examination in the subject, Professor Backman being the examiner. Backman is the Professor of Anatomy at Lund University, but for many years has carried out anthropological research, among other things among Swedish conscripts. A year ago Lundman successfully presented for a Ph.D. degree the first physical anthropological dissertation in Sweden, on 'The Anthropology of the Dala Peasantry,' at Uppsala University. Work of interest to physical anthropologists is, however, also conducted by Professor Gunnar Dahlberg and his colleagues at the Swedish State Institute for Race Biology at Uppsala.

The Theological Faculty of the University of Uppsala in 1944 accepted an inaugural dissertation *The King of Ganda: Studies in the Institution of Sacral Kingship in Africa* for the degree of Doctor of Theology, the author, Dr. Irtam, being a young clergyman in Stockholm, of the Established Church. This study has been included in the publications of the State Ethnographical Museum. The acceptance of a subject dealing with the ethnographical side of the

history of religion is good evidence of the broad-mindedness of the Theological Faculty.

In expressing the Institute's thanks to Professor Lindblom for his impressive account of the work accomplished in Sweden during the last six years, Mr. H. J. Brauhnoltz pointed out one serious omission: nothing had been said of Professor Lindblom's own war-time

publications, which *inter alia* included the addition of *African Razors: A Preliminary Study* (1943) and four or five articles in *Ethnos* to his many outstanding contributions to Africanist studies.

Dr. E. J. Lindgren joined in thanking Professor Lindblom for his account and paid a tribute to the ethnographic work of which she had seen much evidence on her recent visit to Sweden.

#### AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE WAR AND IN THE FUTURE. *By Wendell Phillips, University of California*

**101** The role of the physicist and the atomic bomb in winning the war is commonplace knowledge: however, not so common is the knowledge of the role of anthropology in the war effort.<sup>1</sup> Many of our foremost anthropologists spent a major portion of their time in teaching classes for the Far Eastern Language and Area Programme and the Civil Affairs Training Schools for the Orient.

The purpose of these programmes, which were carried on by our universities, was to teach the men of the army to speak a given language fluently and to become acquainted with the area in question. In order to acquaint them with the area they studied anthropology, contemporary history, geography, and political science.

During the war years of 1942-5, a highly illustrated series of twenty-one booklets appeared entitled *The Smithsonian Institution War Background Studies*. The purpose of these studies was to give a popular science background to the areas of fighting.

Where anthropologists and archaeologists made one of their greatest contributions to the overall winning of the war was through the Ethnogeographic Board, The Cross-Cultural Survey, The World File of Area and Language Specialists, and in specialized research for the army air forces.

##### *Ethnogeographic Board*

In June, 1942, the Smithsonian Institution joined with the National Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Social Science Research Council to establish the Ethnogeographic Board with offices in the Smithsonian Building.

The Board was under the able directorship of Professor William Duncan Strong until July, 1944. Following Professor Strong's resignation to return to his teaching duties at Columbia University, Dr. Henry B. Collins, Jr., of the Bureau of American Ethnology was appointed Director.

The primary purpose of the Board was to provide the military and war agencies with specific regional

information and evaluated personnel data. Looking to the future, the secondary purpose of the Board was to encourage, through the above institutions and outside agencies, extensive research projects along the lines of applicable social science, linguistics, and human geography.

A comparative analogy may be drawn between the position of the Ethnographic Board and the centre of a wheel. Four spokes running through each of the sponsoring research societies make contact with the Natural and Physics Sciences, Humanities and Linguistics, Academies, Libraries, Museums, and the Social Sciences. A fifth main source of war information comes directly from the various universities and colleges. Thus acting as a clearing house, the Ethnogeographic Board passes on useful information and research potentialities through its remaining spokes to the Office of Strategic Services, Board of Economic Warfare, War Department, Navy Department, State Department, and other governmental departments which are directly concerned with the vast social, economic, and political changes now in accelerated progress in all parts of the world.

One of the war's 'best sellers' (over a million copies) was a little book prepared by the Ethnogeographic Board for the Navy entitled *Survival on Land and Sea*.

##### *The Cross-Cultural Survey*

One of anthropology's major contributions to the war effort was the practical use made of the Cross-Cultural Survey.

The Survey was established by the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University in 1937, under the supervision of Professor George P. Murdock. The original purpose was to assemble and organize available information on primitive peoples on a world-wide scale: George P. Murdock, 'The Cross-Cultural Survey,' *American Sociological Review*, V (Chicago, 1940), 361-70, and 'The Yale Survey of South American Ethnology,' *Proceedings of the Eighth American Scientific Congress*, II (Washington, 1942), 199-202. When the United States entered the war, the research activities of the Survey were concentrated upon regions of strategic importance, especially those occupied by Japan. In 1943, the

<sup>1</sup> This account in no way pretends at completeness or originality. It is a compilation of information gained entirely through individual contact with the major personalities concerned while travelling across the United States under the shadow of the Merchant Marine.

work of the Survey on the Pacific Area was taken over by the Navy and placed under the direction of Lieut.-Commander Murdock.

Through the Navy Department and Yale University, a set of the Survey files on the Pacific was deposited at the Ethnogeographic Board to give other government agencies access to materials on this area.

The information gathered from hundreds of books, reports, and articles is contained on five-by-eight cards that are systematically numbered and filed under topic and sub-topic for each area. The relevant data from each publication are abstracted in full, translated from foreign languages into English, classified according to subject, and transferred to cards. Through use of a printed guide, it is possible to assemble immediately information on any aspect of economy, life, and environment for a given area in question. There are main topics and many sub-topics. The following are a few of the more practical topics treated: climate, topography, fauna, flora, soil, mining, shipping, hunting, roads, navigation, clothing, population, physical type, language, law, warfare, etc.

#### *World File of Area and Language Specialists*

This file, under the charge of Dr. William Fenton of the Bureau of American Ethnology, contained references to personnel in the United States having familiarity with one or more foreign areas and languages. The file is composed of five-by-eight cards arranged geographically by major continental areas, and alphabetically by countries or island groups within major areas, and alphabetically within a country or island.

This information will become increasingly important both to the government and the universities as the need grows for informants and lecturers on war-torn areas.

#### *Anthropology in the Army Air Forces*

The military utility of physical anthropology has long been recognized and, in 1940, Professor Ernest A. Hooton convinced the Chief of the Aero-Medical Laboratory at Wright Field, Ohio, that physical anthropology had the technique of measurement and analysis appropriate to answer such problems as: how many sizes of oxygen masks, clothing, or parachutes are necessary, and what proportion of each size should be produced, etc.; Albert Damon and Francis E. Randall, 'Physical Anthropology in the Army Air Forces,' *The American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, September, 1944, 293-316.

To illustrate the practicability and utility of this plan I will cite one example. The specifications as regards emergency escape hatches were indicated as 'adequate' only—the difficulty being, however, that no one knew what adequate was. To solve the problem, Dr. Ronald Olson, Professor of Anthropology at the

University of California, constructed an adjustable 'mock-up' which simulated various types of bail-out hatches. Top-size men were chosen and dressed in various types of flying equipment. Three different types of parachutes were used, and the shape and size of the hatch continually altered as the men dived through on to life nets. Professor Olson turned out a finished 2,500-foot motion-picture film of the whole experiment which was sent to every airplane manufacturer and to every training command in America.

With the war in the immediate background, it is of universal interest to look at certain developments which may profoundly affect the future of anthropology and archaeology.

#### *The Arctic Institute of North America*

In September, 1944, the Arctic Institute of North America, with headquarters in Montreal, was established to initiate, encourage, and support scientific research in the American Arctic, on the premise that detailed and objective studies in many fields of science will be required as the basis for efficient planning for the development of the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions of the western hemisphere. A volume, *The North American Arctic*, is now being prepared by the Arctic Institute with a section on 'The Origin and Antiquity of the Eskimos,' by Henry B. Collins, Jr.

The Institute is international in scope, with members of the Board of Governors representing the United States, Canada, Greenland, and Newfoundland. The research programme of the Institute will include pure research in the fields of study that are basic to the problems of the development of the Arctic, i.e. studies in anthropology, geology, cartography, oceanography, meteorology, and biology. In the fields of applied research, studies will be designed to furnish basic scientific data on the resources and developmental possibilities of the Arctic.

#### *Plains Archaeology faces Extinction in the Future*

It is estimated that 80 per cent. of all Indian archaeological remains in the United States are to be found in 2 per cent. of its area—namely, along the 'great river systems': *Prehistoric America and The River Valleys*, prepared by the Committee for the Recovery of Archaeological Remains, 1945. Thus, if present governmental plans go through to dam the major rivers of the country, the river valleys would be flooded and an extremely large amount of archaeological data would be destroyed. For example, over a hundred dams have been suggested for the Missouri River alone; this would nearly ruin Plains Archaeology.

The value of archaeological studies of America's river valleys goes beyond the purely scientific and educational. Many sites contain evidence of a succession of prehistoric floods, or silting, and of soil



erosion in the river valleys and should throw light on modern problems arising from similar phenomena. In addition, they yield information on climatic changes, land use, and shifts of population.

This archaeological material once lost to the world can never be regained. Before these sites are flooded, the archaeological data must be removed to a place of safety by trained specialists. This work can be accomplished without in any way retarding or modifying the government's original plan by making adequate investigations before the dams are completed.

#### *Future Finances and International Co-operation*

Thus far there has been no indication of any diminution of financial interest in future archaeological exploration within the Western Hemisphere. In all probability, there will be a considerable upswing in archaeology, with many of these future expeditions receiving financial aid through government agencies as well as universities and private institutions.

The problem of finance will play an even more important role in the future of archaeology outside the Western Hemisphere in that philanthropy of the scale of the '20's and the '30's is a thing of the past. Archaeology will, of necessity, have to find means of doing its job as economically as possible. Its search for materials will have to be rather specific instead of throwing out a wide net as in the past. For example, in place of taking a large, ancient ruin and doing a comprehensive job requiring several seasons, with the now limited finances, the specialist must, of necessity, choose only a fraction of the ruin or else select a smaller site which will give a comparative answer to the problem in question.

The difficulty of finance combined with the in-

creasing refinement of specialized knowledge will tend to make it difficult for one institution to do a complete job alone. There will be a pooling of available money, and, more important, a pooling of available talents in a situation where an archaeological expedition has to have different competencies and experiences. Dr F. E. Zeuner, before the Royal Archaeological Institute, pointed out 'That it is well established that the absolute dating of sites often depends exclusively on environmental evidence and that the scientific study of archaeological environment requires special knowledge of chemistry, soil science, geology, climatology, botany, and zoology.' Looking ahead, he hopes 'that many of our future archaeologists may be secured from the natural sciences, and that specialists in the boundary subjects will be encouraged.' This all points to closer co-operation, even among the border sciences, on a given problem.

The western powers have great potential advantages in the fact that other nations have come of age, politically and scientifically. In China, Turkey, or Peru, the local specialists are so good that the scholars of the powers will be greatly aided by joint activity with them. Thus archaeological activity of the future should have the spirit of international co-operation rather than exploitation.

Recognizing the importance of co-operation, a committee of the National Research Council has recently been formed over the problem of international co-operation in anthropology. With Professor Melville Herskovits as chairman, the committee is endeavouring to bring about a more fruitful and complete co-operation among anthropologists and archaeologists the world over.

#### **A MOSLEM 'MISSIONARY' IN MENDELAND, SIERRA LEONE.** *By K. L. Little, M.A., Ph.D., London School of Economics*

**102** A large proportion of the inhabitants of the Sierra Leone Protectorate professes Islam. This applies particularly to the upper classes.

The popular significance of Islam is far greater than that of Christianity, and even Paramount Chiefs who profess the latter religion find it politically expedient to treat the former with the greatest respect. The relative popularity of Islam may be attributed briefly to the following considerations: (a) Islam bestows social prestige on those who profess it. Among the very small literate class, however, Christianity usually takes the place of Islam in this respect. (b) Many of its 'priests' and 'holy men' and their imitators have a considerable reputation as practitioners in the supernatural, and their services are eagerly sought by all sections of society, including Christians. (c) Its doctrinal and ritual elements are quickly appreciated by the people and can be, and

are, readily adjusted to their existing beliefs and customs. And (d) its exponents, even if they arrive as 'strangers,' usually speak the local language, and always move, mix, and marry freely among the communities into which they enter.

The following address was delivered before the Paramount Chief, Tribal Authority, and a fairly large gathering of townspeople in the Court *barri* of a Mende chiefdom in June, 1945. The Chief himself is an adherent of one of the Christian missions. This account of the address is part *verbatim* and part direct paraphrase of the words of the itinerant *Alfa* who gave it. He occupied the centre of the *barri*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A *barri* (the Mende term for which is *scame*) is a meeting and resting place, usually with open sides and a palm-thatch roof. It is usually the focal point in any large town, but Paramount Chiefs and other 'big men' have a private *barri* of their own in most cases.

facing the Paramount Chief and his courtiers, who were seated on a raised platform. The 'preacher' wore a rather old and slightly torn 'Mende gown' of blue *garra* dye, and a red fez, and was barefoot, with the usual leather ritual object suspended by a string from his neck. During his discourse, he walked actively up and down the *barri*, sometimes stopping to gesticulate rather violently to a particular section of the throng, sometimes approaching and appealing directly to the Paramount Chief. His words were followed throughout with the closest attention by his audience, mixed with a slight degree of scepticism—the town in question is situated on the railway line. They provide an illustration of some of the points mentioned in the second paragraph, and of the way in which Islam is popularly propagated by the 'country priest.' In the mosque, the exposition of the faith is usually given and conducted strictly on orthodox lines, and with due decorum.

The 'preacher' began with a song—

'God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth—  
He made four people to serve Mahomet.  
These people unrolled the earth, as it were a carpet,  
So that Mahomet could walk on it

He went on to illustrate by a short story how disobedient people are punished—

'There was once a very wealthy and powerful Chief called Mulku Sulman. One day, a poor and hungry old man came to him and asked for food and clothing because of his miserable condition. The pauper was fed and clothed and began to preach that there was hunger and poverty in the world. This angered the Chief who, conscious of his own great wealth and fame, objected to the man's words and demanded back the food and clothes which had been given to him.

'The pauper, however, was really an angel, sent by God to test Mulku's sincerity of belief in Him. Mulku was so powerful a Chief that even the birds of the air worked for him. Even animals, angels, and devils worked for him. He controlled the whole earth, and became so elated in his pride that he disobeyed God's command.

'This messenger, who came in the shape of a pauper, was Gabriel, and he went back to God to report the disobedience of his servant Sulman—"Oh you black people, fear God! Don't you see the reason why the white people are so prosperous. They fear and respect God. Their churches are always full, and that is why they are so wonderful. But you black people have little regard for God, and so you lag behind—"

'One day, Mulku was going out for a walk when suddenly there was a tremendous roar of wings and blast of wind. A violent storm burst forth. In the midst of the whirlwind, Mulku was seized by the

arm, set on a horse, and away with him to Heaven went the horse.

'As the horse passed through cloud after cloud, Mulku began to feel the pangs of hunger, but the horse continued its journey. Gradually, his hunger became unbearable and he felt on the point of death. *It was then that Mulku realized what hunger is like.*

'Then the horse slackened its speed and they drew up to Gabriel, who was sitting comfortably in a wood. Mulku complimented him, but Gabriel made no reply. Mulku wept bitterly, and realized to the full that there was a power even greater than his own—that of God, the omnipotent.

'Examples of that kind occur even in this country.

'When you disobey a Chief and fall into his grip, you feel you are in the grip of a D.C. (District Commissioner), and not a D.C., but a Divisional Commissioner, and not a Divisional Commissioner, but the Governor, and not the Governor, but the great King in England. So, my dear brethren, fear God and pray. And you, my dear Chief, be humble, and these white people will make you a "big man"! (Exclamation from the Tribal Authority—"God willing!")

The *Alfa* then told the story of Pharaoh, with some additions--

'When Moses was born, Pharaoh asked the diviners to find out whether this was the child who, it was foretold, was going to overthrow him. God made the diviners say the opposite.

'Moses was found in a calabash—that was how calabashes began.

'One day, when Pharaoh was playing with Moses, the child kicked the old man, and Pharaoh urinated.' (General laughter.)

'Some Poro people do not pray. Well, the field of judgement was once a Poro bush—so I warn you—pray! White people pray, and so they have such intelligence as to make an aeroplane—a wonderful thing.'

'After Moses had stayed some time at Pharaoh's house, Pharaoh ordered the child to be taken out of the town, and Moses was left in the mountains until he was a man. Moses asked God why he was unable to see Him, and God replied that He could not be seen until the Day of Judgement. God wanted to show Moses His wonders. He told him to repeat a Sura, and left a small stick burning in his hand. When the fire on the stick reached a certain point, Moses melted into oil. Moses asked God where He was. God replied that He was not in water, not in air, and not in the so-called seventh Heaven, but in His kingdom.'

The *Alfa* then went on to describe Heaven as he had seen it in a dream—

'In Heaven one does not wink, die, or fall hungry.

‘There is no darkness, but an everlasting Paradise. In Heaven, if you want anything, it is simply a matter of thinking of it. You still keep your sexual instinct. When you are lying in bed and feel that you want a partner, you will feel somebody near you.’ (General laughter and exclamations of, ‘It’s a fact!’) ‘When your partner goes away and tells her companions that she has been with a certain Mori-man, they say that they were all there, also.’

After his address, the *Alfa* proposed that certain things should be ‘sacrificed’ by the chieftdom and distributed among the poor. The things ‘sacrificed’

would make it easy for one while travelling to Heaven: viz. quantities of seed-rice and cooked sweet potatoes; an old coat; a pair of sandals to protect the feet from thorns; two cocks as food; an old mortar and pestle; two buckets for collecting water; a quantity of kerosene—to be given by rich people—and a bundle of wood—by poor people; seven bamboo slats.

He himself would make a *kpakpa* for the people of the chieftdom out of seven kola nuts, one old pot, and three splinters. This *kpakpa* or ‘sacrifice,’ the effect of which is to ward off trouble, was duly made in the compound of the Paramount Chief, and left there.

#### MIN AND HIS FUNCTIONS. *By G. D. Hornblower, F.S.A.*

**103** Min has till recently been classified as the Egyptian departmental god in charge of procreation in view of his ever emphatic ithyphallism; he was known also to be connected with the care of crops. This simple kind of classification is, however, no longer sufficient: it follows the old familiar system which set up prominent classical deities in a row, like figures of eminent persons at Madame Tussaud’s, labelling them mainly as presiding over various activities of life, such as Vulcan for metal-working, Mars for war, or Venus for sexual activity. Such apportionment finds, of course, a justification in classical literature, but the close research of recent times has shown that the essential nature of these gods was much more complex than appears on the surface of that literature. Min is in this case. Egyptian records yield no hint of his being a departmental god in charge of procreation: he was connected not only with the crops but, in a special manner, with the king, since the rites of royal enthronement and of Min’s festival conjoined. The joint rites are portrayed in the wall-reliefs of two Theban temples, one, of the Nineteenth Dynasty, of Ramesses II—called ‘the Great’—and the other, of the Twentieth Dynasty, of Ramesses III, at Medinet Habu: they have been abundantly described and analysed by H. Gauthier in *Les Fêtes du dieu Min* (Cairo, 1931—to be quoted here as *Fêtes*): the photographic plates of the reliefs are not clear, but a serviceable rendering in outline of the more complete of the two series was published in Vol. III of Wilkinson’s book on *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, Pl. LX (Birch’s edition, 1878).

These temple-pictures display Min as a great god in close connexion with the king and with agriculture. The latter relationship is portrayed with little prominence, for there had been a lapse of many centuries since, in the Gerzean age, Min had been replaced in the matter by Osiris: a constant witness to it remained, however, in the small flail, used in the

primitive hoe-agriculture, which was Min’s emblem, so appropriate a one that it was assigned also to Osiris on his replacing Min (see MAN, 1941, p. 101, col. 2).

Besides these two national functions of Min he reigned regionally as patron god in certainly three districts and, almost certainly, a fourth: Koptos (*Qift*), Akhmim (*Apa*), and Wadi Hammâmât, the fourth being the district of Thebes. With all these functions to fulfil, he must assuredly have figured as protagonist in the communal fertility-rite just as Osiris did on the establishment of his cult—indeed, the key to his vital meaning for the Egyptians throughout their history is provided by his position in that respect.

Our inquiry into this meaning has to deal largely with that very remote prehistorical period, the Amratian, which ended with the arrival of the Osirians and the beginning of the Gerzean age. Dark as the latter may be, the earlier is of course still darker: the lights which help us to pierce its obscurity are few and may at first sight seem little more than glimmerings, for material evidence is limited and our arguments have much of their foundations in the spiritual, or immaterial. But the spiritual has a very real importance: all accounts of people who can be called primitive prove that it often dominates them to a remarkably astonishing degree. Man, to face the difficulties of living, needs an inner mental support at least as much as a material, and finds it in his faith, of whatever kind it may be: with primitive man it was his magic and the magico-religious systems to which it led. In early days, when constructive thought was young and not yet ripe for sophistication, faith was in its first strength and purity; it retained its vigour very long in Egypt where, as in Mesopotamia—though rather less so—life was safe and easy compared with that of other countries and little need was felt for rationality, that great quality of the Greeks. Herodotus, true disciple of rationality

remarked this trait in Egyptian character, declaring that they 'follow religious observances prodigiously' (II, 64) and calling them 'god-revering' (II, 37), such a quality demands real attention when dealing with them as a living whole.

Min figures but little in the earliest religious writings, the *Pyramid Texts*, or in their successors, of which the so-called *Books of the Dead* are the foremost type: but these were mortuary compilations for the benefit of the dead in their after-life, while the fertility-rite was concerned solely with the life on earth. This disseverance had another result, the absence of Min from the Solar Ennead, the Olympus of ancient Egypt: he was only recognized as a member after his assimilation with Horus. Further, when the *Pyramid Texts* were compiled the Solar cult was supreme, it had no connexion with the fertility-rite and accordingly, in its scriptures, ignored it—a common habit of scriptures in such circumstances. Yet Min, in the rare mentions of him in the *Pyramid Texts*, always appears as a god of national importance. He stands before the Two Shrines (*itr.t*) which were holy places for the Two Lands (pars. 256 and 1998)—Gardiner, however, has recently suggested that this word means the conclave of gods, in their shrines, connected with the Sed festival (*J.E.L.*, XXX, 27). Other paragraphs give the king power to perform certain acts 'like Min' (pars. 1712, 1928, and 1948)—notably 'like Horus' to command 'men' (par. 1993), that is Egyptians, for 'the men' is a most usual name applied by communities to themselves. In par. 953 the gods are bidden, on the arrival among them of the dead king, to 'love him like Min.' Lastly, in the scanty registers of the Palermo Stone, roughly contemporary with the *Pyramid Texts*, Min's 'birth' is recorded twice (Breasted: *Ancient Records*, I, pars. 99 and 142), that word signifying, according to a passage in the *Book of the Dead*, his 'going forth' in festal procession (Chapter 17, p. 95, of Budge's translation of 1901). A modern survival of these occasions of popular rejoicing is to be seen in the processions (*seffeh*) in the *moolids*, or holy men's 'birthdays' of Muslim Egypt.

For many centuries the rites of Min make no appearance in the records except—and that most meagrely—on the Palermo Stone, but in the Nineteenth Dynasty they were fully displayed on the walls of the two Theban temples mentioned above. They present a ceremony of the same order as that of Amūn-rē's hierogamy in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Luxor, with its splendid pageant, and that of Horus of Edfou with Hathor of Dendera (*see* MAN, 1941, p. 94), both of them constituting a glorified development of the early human rite. Their representation in stone on the temple-walls was intended, as was always the case, to ensure by magic means the

permanent efficacy of the rites themselves (*see* my article on *Temples and Kings* in *Journ. Manchester Eg. and Or. Soc.*, XVII, pp. 21–39): in selecting for portrayal this particular ceremony the kings may have been influenced by the feeling of disillusionment that lay behind their earlier choice of the Osirian rite at Abydos (*see* MAN, 1941, p. 96, par. 2)—another symptom of this feeling may be discernible in the choice of name for the founder of the dynasty, called 'Seti' after the god Set, despite the latter's traditional reputation of bitter enmity.

The minute detail and good order of the scenes displayed on the temple walls indicate that instructions for the procession must have been preserved in religious records and promulgated for the occasion represented: thus the suggestion of some authorities that the festival was performed regularly, though perhaps not put earlier on public record, may be well founded.

The national importance of Min must have had its source in prehistoric times. His followers came into Egypt from the south, as did the main body of immigrants, followers of Horus, Set, and other gods, who settled in the Nile Valley (*see* Elliot Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*, Chapter 5). The argument for the southern source of immigration is effectively strengthened by the worship of the baboon, incarnation of the god Thoth. This animal is not native to Egypt but was imported from Punt, as we learn from the picture of ship-loading at Punt in the temple of Deir el Bahri, amid the scenes illustrating Queen Hatshepsut's expedition to that country (*see* Naville's monograph, III, Pl. lxxiv). Monkeys appear in Assyrian low-reliefs, but the species is unrecognizable, they seem to have a religious significance and perhaps Solomon imported them for that reason (I *Kings*, 10, 22), but so far, as Professor Sidney Smith has said, no more than an apotropaic character can be safely attributed to them on the Mesopotamian seal-amulets where they frequently occur (*see* C. J. Gadd's *Guide to the Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum*, pp. 50 and 58, and Pl. XIII).

The Min people emigrated early, perhaps the first of all: Herodotus—II, 145, f.—reports the Egyptian belief that he was the oldest of their gods.<sup>1</sup> They prospered much and spread widely, creating for themselves a dominant position and composing indeed the first settled kingdom in Egypt, as Sethe (*Urges-*

<sup>1</sup> In this passage Herodotus gives the order of age of the three principal gods, according to Egyptian belief, as (1) Min, (2) Horus, (3) Osiris. It is noteworthy that this order fits exactly the theory followed in this series of articles: (1) Min as god of the earliest group of immigrants from the south, (2) Horus as god of a later group which eventually won to domination, (3) Osiris as god of the Asiatic migrants of still later times who were authors of the great cultural advance of the Gerzean age.

*schichte*, pp. 166-9), followed by Gauthier (*Fêtes*, 175 and 286), has shown reason to conclude. Evidence supporting the claim survives in an inscription of late date found at Kom Ombo, naming him 'Lord of the Two Lands', that is, of all Egypt, and ranking him also with the local patron-god who was the crocodile *Sebek*. In a god's own district fulsome praise was the rule, but to give him in a region distant from his own, as here, the highest rank of all indicates that the tradition of Min's domination must have survived till late times (see *Fêtes*, p. 2). Similar evidence is provided by a Roman stela which honours Min exceedingly, calling him 'Father of Rê' (*Fêtes*, p. 141; illustrated by Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, III, p. 24).

It should be noted that in the Amratian period under review Upper Egypt reached no further north than Qau el Kebir, 280 miles south of Cairo (Scharif: *Grundzüge*, p. 18). The distance of Koptos, Min's chief city, to his second one, Akhmim, is 110 miles; to this we may assuredly add the stretch of 30 miles to the south, between Koptos and Thebes, making a total length along the river of about 140 miles, a goodly stretch for a tribe in those days. The claim of Min's being originally the Lord of Thebes is disputed by some epigraphists but is heartily backed by one of the most authoritative, Erman, who, in his last book on Egyptian religion (p. 131 of the French translation) stated emphatically that the Theban god Amûn was no more than a 'double' of Min. This identification was founded on the names: Amûn is the Graecized form of the hieroglyphic *imn*, while Min was written as *mn*; vowels are often fugitive and names, and even words, liable to change (see Wainwright's *Ancient Egypt*, 1914, pp. 148, ff.) and it is quite possible that the original names were identical. But apart from epigraphy, a strongly confirmative piece of material evidence occurs in the earliest representation of Amûn yet known, dating from the Twelfth Dynasty, which shows him as ithyphallic (*Fêtes*, pp. 132 ff.). In historical times the identification was established by a multitude of inscriptions (see *Fêtes*, Index). If, as suggested in MAN, 1945, p. 61, col. 2, the early Thebans, with their ram-god, were settlers from 'Libya,' they must have been overrun by the Min tribe who brought with them their own god but, in political accommodation, preserved the form of the original ram. It should be noted that Min himself never had a totemic aspect but was always represented in human form, a circumstance which may well have facilitated his acceptance.

A fourth district remains for our account, the Wadi Hammâmât, and this is the most significative of all. It constitutes the pass between the Nile Valley and the Red Sea and was of first importance to Egypt (see MAN, 1941, p. 97, col. 2). It was pre-eminently Min's domain and inscriptions on the rocks on its borders

could almost induce the notion that part at least of the valley served as a temple to him—some of them were actually framed as stele (see Couyat and Monet: *Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouadi Hammâmât*, 1913: translations of the important ones appear in Breasted's *Ancient Records*, Vol. I). All the inscriptions of historical age emphasize the status of Min as Lord of the desert and highland routes, as well as of Koptos, while the prehistoric drawings convey the sense of a succession of passers-by in either direction.

There thus emerges from the mists of prehistory a picture in broad lines of the Min people migrating from the south to settle in a strong body in the Nile valley. Their centre was Koptos, at the Egyptian mouth of the Wadi: Min's town-derived epithet was always 'the Koptite.' Their first migrations may have been wholly by land, but on the discovery of the sea-route they made full use of it, placing it naturally under the protection of their god—indeed, they may well have been its original discoverers. On the rich soil and superb water-conditions of Egypt they prospered immensely and spread for long distances along the Nile, forming, as Sethe deduced, the first Egyptian kingdom. Their chief, or king, was for them the incarnation of their god, as was the case with Horus and others, and protagonist in the national fertility-rite, that function being most markedly indicated by his dominant ithyphallism. The rite itself was believed indispensable for the welfare of the crops and Min was consequently accounted their divine protector: so deeply had this belief sunk into religious imagination that although Osiris, on his cult becoming supreme, took over this protective function, Min still had his share in it, acknowledged on the temple-walls of the two Ramessids. The space allotted to its representation is, as previously noted, small, but it could hardly be otherwise in view of the status of Osiris.

Min's supremacy, born in the simple, youthful days of strong expansion in the life of the people, gripped so strongly their imagination that he never lost for them his vitally essential position. He was still reputed to hold power over the crops—and most likely over the beasts—but, greatest virtue of all, as the first protagonist in the fertility-rite which, once regional, had become national, he had the care of the king's physical vigour. The symbol of this quality was the bull, embodiment of strength in general and, in particular, of generative power, as its determinative shows (see MAN, 1943, p. 31). In later times the royal titulary contained the expression 'Strong Bull' (see Gardiner's *Grammar*, p. 72) and strength was undoubtedly meant in both its aspects—as Gauthier has made abundantly clear in *Fêtes*, pp. 138, ff. Let it suffice here to remark the blessing bestowed by Min

on the king on the occasion of his enthronement: 'I give thee all strength and victory' (*Fêtes*, p. 175)—'strength' was Min's special gift. The king himself was sometimes described directly as a bull, e.g. in an inscription of the time of Mentuhotep, in the Twelfth Dynasty, translated by Breasted in *Ancient Records*, I, par. 511: here he has the name of 'White Bull,' resembling thus the animal pictured in the Ramessid temples (*Fêtes*, p. 176). In this ascription the king is assimilated to Min, who, in the hymn sung by the 'negro from Punt' as part of the festal proceedings (*Fêtes*, p. 200), is described as arriving 'in the shape of a bull': elsewhere Min is called the 'beautiful' or 'powerful' bull (*Fêtes*, p. 177). It might indeed seem that the bull was attached in religious symbolism to Min first of all and that he was thus the prototype of the rather numerous sacred bulls of Egypt, of which a convenient list is given in Wiedemann's *Herodots zweites Buch*, pp. 547–553. Special note may be taken of the Mnevis bull, which according to Diodorus (I, 2 and 88) was sacred to Osiris but kept in the City of the Sun, together with the Apis bull: Plutarch (*de Is.*, sec. 33) makes the same report. Later writers, such as Emilian (XI, 11), connect him with the Sun-god, while Manetho, as reported by Syncellus Africanus, adds to the difficulty of identification by making both Mnevis and Apis kings of the Second Dynasty, though classing the 'goat of Mendes' as a god. It would seem that the theological origin of Mnevis had long been lost to memory and that in the early days it was an incarnation, or at least intimate symbol, of Min, for in the classical age its name was *Miner*, of which the meaning is not known (see Otto: *Beilage zur Geschichte der Stierkulten in Ägypten*, Leipzig, 1938, p. 34—a reference kindly supplied by Professor Newberry): but in the Late Period the reading *mnī* occurs, which was probably the name current among the people and thus found its way into the Greek records. A simple explanation of *mnī* may be that the bull belonged to Min (*mn*): it is interesting to note that it was also given in the Abydos table of kings and the Turin papyrus as the name of the first king of Egypt, transcribed by the Greeks as *Menes*, who, it may be noted, was called also *Mnerēs* by Diodorus (I, 94).

The king's connexion with Min is quite clear, but he was also, and above all, in the classical times, the Living Horus: with the developing organization of the country it had become a theological necessity to bring the two connexions into harmony. This was effected, by equating Horus with Min, as early at least as the Twelfth Dynasty, when we find also the title *Min-Hr-nkht*: 'The strong Min-Horus' (see *Fêtes*, pp. 24, 33, and 198). The syncretism, a very natural one, remained strong and durable: it is clearly reflected by Plutarch (*de Is.*, sec. 56), who says

that the Egyptians were accustomed to call Horus by the name of Min, adding, with the reckless use of etymology then fashionable with the Greeks, that the word corresponded with the Greek *ὁρώμενον*—'seen': Suidas, much later, *s.v.* 'Priapus,' reported that the Egyptians gave the name of Horus to that god and added, like Plutarch, several quaint and fantastic explanations of features attributed to the god (see also Diod. Sic., Book IV, Chapter 6). Amūn was later included in the equation and even Rē, occasionally also other gods, for the enhancement, we may suppose, of their prestige (see *Fêtes*; many entries in the Index).

In all such societies as the early ones dealt with here, the religious element is very closely knitted in with the political and social, and the intimate connexion of Min and Horus undoubtedly owes much to the political. The Min people were supreme, as it appears, in the early Amratian age, and their primitive religious system struck deep roots in the land of their settlement, leaving an indelible mark on succeeding systems. Politically they declined in time from the topmost rank, as other communities gained in strength, notably those of Horus and Set who fought long for sovereignty, Set losing. But the Min people were still strong enough to withstand submergence and they made alliance with the Horians (see *Fêtes*, p. 286), living in peace together—their gods, of course, doing likewise. Thus, when the Falcon people ruled all Egypt their god was incarnated in the king, but Min retained certain vital functions centring on him. This is particularly evident in the ceremonies of royal enthronement which were of the nature of the *rites de passage* of Van Gennep, being initiatory. They were double: one, under the care of Min, purposed to provide the King with the necessary physical vigour, while in the other the Falcon-god bestowed on him the quality of the Living Horus. The latter, far less known, was recorded in the Ramesseum papyrus skilfully edited and explained by Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, II. This papyrus recorded the text, with accompanying instructions, for the dramatically performed rite of the burial of a dead king, which included also the rite for endowing his successor with the powers of Horus. The syncretism of the two gods is thus seen to have become, for royal purposes, almost inevitable.

The actual fertility-rite under Min differed from the Osirian in an important respect, for it was simpler, composed of one element only, sexual mating, without the Osirian additions which involved a triple group of divine mother, spouse, and son, derived ultimately, maybe from North Syria or, in view of Seton Lloyd's recent discoveries at Tell Hassuna in the province of Mosul, from Mesopotamia. The belief that the simple act can influence the growth of crops is of very wide extent (see MAX, 1943, p. 30, col. 2) and not a few

traces of it yet survive.<sup>2</sup> Nowhere is it more openly expressed than in the figures of a mating couple, built up very roughly from clay and rubble, in the Great Oasis (*Khargeh*) in the early years of this century, and intended, as the peasants explained, to procure a good harvest (*see* MAX, 1927, 27, and 1941, pp. 99, f.). The group is the more striking that it was erected by men of the Muslim religion to which all such things are abhorrent: it provides remarkably strong testimony to the extraordinary vitality of a religious belief which had its origin unknown millennia ago.<sup>3</sup>

The assimilation of Min to Horus made necessary some modifications of his original condition, a notable one appearing in his acquisition of the title 'Bull of his Mother' (*Kamutef*—*see* *Fêtes*, pp. 81, 133, and 146). This name belonged essentially to Horus as male component in the complex of divine lover-son (*see* MAX, 1937, p. 175, and 1941, p. 94): it is first recorded for Min on the obelisk of Queen Hatshepsut at Karnak (*Fêtes*, p. 135), though it may very likely have been current earlier, for it was of appropriate character. It extended also to Amûn, since he was identified with Min, so explicitly, indeed, that when his image set forth in public processions it was invariably displayed as ithyphallic (*see* Legrain, *Les Temples de Karnak*, p. 99, and *Fêtes*, p. 260).

The Egyptian predilection for the concrete is well marked in this matter by two passages: (1) on a stela of the Thirteenth Dynasty in the museum of Parma, translated by Gauthier (p. 239, n. 1): 'Thy heart joins with the king as the heart of Horus joined with his mother Isis when he coupled with her, flank to flank'; (2) in a passage from a hymn to Min (*Fêtes*, p. 230): 'Hail to thee, Min, fecundating thy mother; secret are thy dealings with her when the heavens are dark.' Such inscriptions as these may well have provided the grounds for the legends reported by Herodotus (II, 63–4) about the attacks by

'Ares' on his mother (*see* MAX, 1941, p. 102, col. 2, par. 3).

The Khargeh fertility-group was made on the pre-Osirian model, like that on the Amratan jar illustrated in fig. 2, p. 29, of MAX, 1943 and we may well couple with them the three famous stone statues of Min excavated by Petrie at Koptos (*Koptos*, p. 7, and Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, pp. 222–4). excellent illustrations are provided in Andrae and Schaeffer's *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, Berlin 1925, p. 175). They are of great size: an example in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, would measure, with the head fixed on, about eight feet in height. They are very markedly ithyphallic, like all other representations of the god, but there is no trace of his usual head-dress, nor does the small flail appear which was his constant emblem, raised on high as if about to function: but the right hand was shaped to hold some kind of a staff which may have been the handle of a flail, probably of wood. They were found in such a position as to denote utter abandonment and disesteem, having been apparently thrown down into the loose sand many centuries before the erection of the second Ptolemaic temple, beneath the foundations of which they were found (*Koptos*, p. 13). They were close together and their mutual resemblance makes it most probable, as Petrie remarked, that one had replaced another which had become damaged or fallen down. Only one head was found and the face was so completely knocked away that, except in one feature, the remains of a side-beard, it can provide no evidence of origin or likeness to others. The statues appear to have lain at one time half buried on the surface of the land with one side exposed to the air; that side is covered with several small pittings of more or less circular shape, some of them fairly deep—they are clearly shown in Andrae and Schaeffer's Plate 175: they may perhaps be explained, as Mr. Thurlow Leeds has hinted, as having been made by peasants for the husking of their various grains, or some other purpose of peasant economy. In this respect they are not unique for the early statue from Hierakonpolis, now in the Ashmolean Museum, bears the same disfigurement and, like them, must have been discarded and thrown to the ground (*see* Quibell and Green, *Hierakonpolis*, II, pp. 15, 16, 47, and Pl. Ivii, and Capart, *op. cit.*, p. 227, fig. 168). Its workmanship is more developed and finer than that of the Min statues and the clothing shown is of a usual Egyptian type; it is smaller in size and seems to be a rather later work. None of these statues has a supporting back-pillar such as standing statues always had after the proto-dynastic period. No feet were found nor traces of a base: there is no indication of how they stood.

The most striking detail in the Min statues is the portrayal of certain objects on part of them in the

<sup>2</sup> In some places this belief has reached extraordinary developments. Geoffrey Gorer in *Africa Dances* (London, 1935, pp. 318–21) relates that he witnessed a fertility-dance in the South-east of the Ivory Coast in which the performers 'went through an exceedingly realistic and well-observed pantomime of the copulation of various beasts and birds . . . they mimed so well that they almost became goats or cocks or bulls before our eyes: the movements were so essential that the body which made them seemed unimportant'.

<sup>3</sup> The source of such vitality is probably discernible in a well-known feature of magic and *tabu*. When the tremendous significance of the sexual act dawned on men's intelligence, they attributed it to an equally tremendous release of magic power, of a creative kind, applicable to crops as to men. They thought it, indeed, so powerful that it might prove a source of danger and for this reason a strict *tabu* has often been put on sexual congress on important communal occasions, such as a warring expedition, the building or ceremonial launching of a great canoe, erecting a communal hall, and so on. The sense of magical power would be further strengthened by the heightening of human spirit which so often attends sexual stirring.



pecking technique employed for the rock-drawings of Wadi Hammâmât.<sup>1</sup> They represent, besides the god's emblem, which has not yet been definitely explained, a bull, an elephant, a lioness, the jagged beaks of saw-fish and pteroceras shells from the Red Sea, thereby indicating the park-like steppe region, going into jungle, whence the Min people had migrated, and their sea-path leading from it. Their purpose could not have been merely commemorative but magical, as ever in such objects, to facilitate the winning of food or to protect against danger—the saw-fish may have been caught or harpooned for food—or the jagged beak and the spiky shell, with their strange shapes, had been endowed in imagination with good magic powers. The figure of a lioness may have really been made for a lion which, as is commonly the case in the African jungle, had lost most of its mane: it would then be in keeping with the naturalistic spirit of primitive art, for in full dynastic times the lion was represented with a mane of great, and often impossible, magnificence, doubtless for decorative purposes—a practice followed on occasion in Mesopotamia also, as in the bowl illustrated in the *British Museum Quarterly*, XI, iii, p. 119, and Pl. XXXII. The delineation of such magical objects on figures in the round is shown to have been a regular practice in early Egypt by the figurines of the primitive mother-goddess, or fertility-goddess, discussed by me in an article in *J. Eg. Arch.*, XV, pp. 29, ff.: see figs. 1–4 and Pl. VII, nos. 3 and 4. (Dates recorded in that article, as in others written about that time, must be somewhat reduced in view of later researches.) The same practice has been found in Mesopotamian figurines, such as the diminutive statues—none over 30 inches in height—the oldest hitherto found in that region, described by Frankfort in the *Ill. London News*, 17 May, 1934, pp. 774–8 and 802, and in his *Preliminary Report* to the Oriental Institution of Chicago. They were found in the lowest stratum at Tell Asmar and are dated by him to approximately 3000 B.C., about the time of the unification of Egypt. In another detail—but in no more—they bear a likeness to the statues of Min, being, like them, bearded. They thus throw little light on those statues, but other objects from Tell Asmar are more helpful, for they show the domestication in Mesopotamia of the *selouki* hunting-dog, of the same breed as the Egyptian, ex-

hibited very early in the tomb finds of Hemaka, of the First Dynasty, at Saqqâra (*see* Emery, *Hemaka*, Cairo, 1938, p. 29, with a beautiful coloured plate as frontispiece, after a water-colour drawing by Mrs. Guy Brunton). Here the hounds are displayed chasing gazelles in what appears to be perhaps a netted enclosure, such as were used by royal sportsmen until almost recent times in Europe. The coloured disk on which this scene is portrayed displays admirably the fine and sensitive qualities of art in Egypt at a very early date. Another dog common to both countries is the mastiff-like hound carved on the knife-handle from Gebel el 'Araq and on a Mesopotamian vase illustrated in *British Museum Quarterly*, II, no. 1, Pl. VI, b: another Egyptian example is carved on the early sceptre-head illustrated in *Hierakonpolis*, I, Pl. XIX, 6.

These are but small features of the much discussed but very recognizable relationship between early Egyptian art and that which we may call conveniently, if sometimes rather too sweepingly, Mesopotamian. Traces of this relationship visible on the Min statues were briefly indicated in my article on 'Some Pre-dynastic Carvings' in *J. of Eg. Arch.*, XIII (1927), p. 244, in connexion with a truly remarkable carving on the end of a hippopotamus tusk, displaying the imposing head of a man wearing an exceptionally heavy beard (*id.*, Pl. LXIII). The significance of this feature is great: for the Sumerians, who shaved clean, it served as a sign of divinity (*id.*, p. 242): it was applied for that use even to a cow, as incarnation of the goddess Ninkhursag, the Mesopotamian counterpart of Hat-hor—*see* fig. 72 of Delougaz and Lloyd's *Pre-Sargonic Temples of the Diyala District*; the earliest statues so far discovered in the Mesopotamian region, at Tell Asmar, carried heavy beards with squared ends. The Egyptians, who were also a clean-shaven people, appended false beards to the faces of their kings in token, doubtless, of their godship. In the only surviving head of the Min statues the one feature still distinguishable is the remains of a side-beard: of the chin-beard of which it formed part there are no remains, but a possible indication of one is visible in one of the statues in the form of a slight, almost imperceptible, little projection on the upper part of the chest, but it is too small to have borne a heavy beard such as that on the hippo-tusk. The royal false beard was represented in classical times as light, but a heavy one has survived from the earlier times in the remarkable basalt statue from the Macgregor collection, now in the Ashmolean Museum (*see* Capart, p. 44 and fig. 20, and Andrae and Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, p. 173). A detail of equal or even greater significance is the nakedness of the god, clad only with a girdle, like figures in early Mesopotamian art of the hero—divine or, like Herakles, only partly so—

<sup>1</sup> The pecking technique is general in rock-pictures, notably in Bushman art; a fine example, portraying an elephant perfectly, is to be seen in a cast in the Pitt-Rivers Museum in Oxford and illustrated in Parkyn's *Introduction to the Study of Prehistoric Art* (1915), p. 128, and fig. 157, taken, as Mr. Penniman informed me, from the *Times of the S. African Phil. Soc.*, xvi, 1909, pp. 401–9. The shaping out of stone statues by man-stones, which was the regular Egyptian method throughout their history, was but a development of pecking and must have been terribly laborious, though no doubt the drill proved of good service.

who goes by the name of Gilgamesh<sup>5</sup>: he too is often shown naked or girt with a belt, sometimes with its ends hanging down as in the Min statues. This guise and the use of the false beard cannot be a matter of coincidence as the smaller analogues might be: they make clear that Mesopotamian culture had strong operative influence in the region of the Min people whom it would first meet on its arrival from over the Red Sea, so strong indeed that when the people made the first statues of heroic size in stone, in which such features as dress might be exhibited, they borrowed detail from the great Mesopotamian hero, whether 'Gilgamesh' or one of his type. In the later statue from Hierakonpolis such traces are no longer visible; it appears as wholly Egyptian.

The stone statues must of course have had prototypes of the kind exemplified, it seems likely, by the fertility-group in mud and stone set up in the early part of this century in the Great Oasis (*Khargh*). The photograph reproduced in *MAN*, 1927, 97, shows clearly the close relationship of the rudely rustic male figure of the group with the statues of Min. Local figurations of the rite must have once been common in Egypt, set up, perhaps, annually, and renewed when they crumbled away or fell down. When, in King Zoser's time, stone was adopted for temple building, replacing the structures of clay, wattle, palm-logs, and so on of which they had previously been built: the purpose was to give them the safe durability that was ever the object of fervent Egyptian desire, not only for the buildings but even more for the rites performed in them, the safeguarding of which was believed to be effected by depicting them in stone on the temple-walls: so long as these portrayals existed on the walls the rites themselves were held to be efficacious. The first stone statues, erected with rough inexperience in the manner of the clay-and-rubble prototypes, would not endure long, when one fell another replaced it, and here we have the likely explanation of the three being so much alike—had there been any considerable lapse of time between them they would surely have shown signs of change and improvement.

When Osiris, now thoroughly anthropomorphised, became the divine protagonist in the national fertility-rite, he ousted Min even in his own district, though later probably than in others, owing to the vitality of the old Min influence: the stone statues fell into disuse and underwent the degradation noted above. The change to stone may have been coeval, approximately, with Zoser's achievement: the replacement of Min by Osiris in the great rite followed in perhaps not more than two or three generations, for the Fourth

Dynasty was one of great strength and progress, very manifest in the pyramids of Gizeh and the peerless royal statues of the time, in the conditions of crushing central absolutism that these denote, regional heresy in the matter so vital as the national prosperity-rite could not survive. True, there were other hierogamies, of Horus with Hat-hor, and of Amûn-rê, but these were super-eminent deities, of national and not merely regional importance, and no changes of ritual could be allowed that would curtail their vital privileges and delights—besides, incidentally, suppressing occasions for hearty popular enjoyment—that invaluable aid in the support of the ruling class.

A difficulty arises, of course, in the absence, so far, of female complements to the male statues. Further exploration at Koptos—which indeed needs it—might discover some, but it may well be that the female figure continues to be made of mud and stones, it being thought sufficient to confer permanence on the male figure alone as being, in Semitic wise, the *ba'al*—'lord,' 'possessor,' 'husband'—of his consort, the female having lost much of her primitive dominance, founded on her reputation as sole physical source of life.

It has usually been taken for granted that these statues stood in a temple, but, if we take 'temple' to mean a firm and spacious structure, this could not be. No indication of such a condition has survived and in the very early times with which we are dealing temples were flimsy structures, as evidenced by the figure of the temple, or rather shrine, of Neith engraved on a wooden tablet of King Hor-ahm and illustrated by Petrie in *Royal Tombs*, ii, Pls. iii and x (also by Capart, p. 253, fig. 190). It consisted of a light structure of wattle and daub and a forecourt enclosed in a hedge of the same material, forming a *tomenos*. Large stone statues could hardly find a place in such a structure, which was very likely temporary and even mobile. Again, no traces of feet or pedestal have been found and, as noted above, they lack the back-support of statues which was universal after the proto-dynastic period. The greater probability is that they stood in the open air, like the Khargh group: they would thus be liable to damage from the vicissitudes of weather and easily overthrown if they had as support, as seems likely, mere mounds of rubble and clay. We must figure them, then, not as the statues erected in Theban temples, immured in innermost sanctuaries, visible only to kings, priests, and privileged persons and very distant from the commons, but as standing high in the free air, mighty figures indeed in the eyes of the simple peasants, keeping fresh before them the vital annual rite which was the great source of their comfort and joy, with its perennial promise of a good life through all their days.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Gadd tells me that though this is a most likely attribution, it has so far received no epigraphic confirmation.

To conclude: the development of the fertility-rite under the Osirian cult has been briefly summarized in MAN, 1941, p. 113, and 1945, p. 62; its original relationship with Min, as set forth above, points to an earlier stage, the Amratian, which was founded on simple human coupling without the Osirian additions of the Cerzean age which greatly complicated it (see MAN, 1941, p. 99, and 1943, p. 29 and fig. 5).

The fountain-head of this stream of development is to be seen in the figures of women, often called 'idols,' that have come down to us from the Late Paleolithic age, touched on in MAN, 1941, p. 100, col. 1: a detailed discussion of them, apart from the fertility-rite, appeared in the *J. Eg. Arch.* XV (1929), pp. 29–47. They mostly represent women in pregnant condition and were interpreted by Professor Fleure as magical sources of fertility, an interpretation once coldly received but now generally accepted. They seem to have been in the beginning just 'mother-figures,' which developed in time to a deity, the 'Great Mother' or 'Mother Goddess,' venerated in various forms through many parts of the world. The addition to her of a son was to follow, to mark her motherhood, and lastly, when the facts of physical paternity became known, that of a male consort. The development, in its essence, was now completed, giving rise, in the Near East, to many complications in the rite which have been the subject of this series of articles, now concluding.

The wide extent of the rite, in one form or another, in space as in time, noted in MAN, 1943, p. 30, is to be explained by the extreme remoteness of its ancestry, as mentioned above. The first originators have had countless descendants in wide regions of the world and the idea of it has been carried by them down the ages, filling those regions and, it is most likely, handing it on to other regions, to peoples fascinated by the ray of light that it brought into the obscurity of their life-philosophy. For like reason the principle of the fertility-rite was so fundamentally vital that it can hardly die and still survives in its first purity among many people, while traces of it may be discerned almost everywhere.

NOTE 1.—Parallels to the Min statues have been found among 'primitive' peoples. A case was described by Dr. A. C. Kruyt in the *Rev. Anthropologique*, xxxiii (1923), pp. 271–8, in Celebes, where large stone statues exist which were erected by a race of inhabitants previous to the modern natives but totally unknown to them. The author accepted the conclusion of an expert, Dr. Bosch, that they were monuments of a phallic cult. None are female, while some, though not all, are provided with an erect phallus, with the hands holding it. Another case appears in Kalvagat, New Britain, where stone

images known as 'our Grandfathers' and 'our Grandmothers' were kept in a special house; their guardian, to ensure prosperous harvests, placed them face to face: should they be set back to back, dearth would ensue—or even skin-disease (Frazer, *The Magic Art*, II, p. 148).

NOTE 2.—The Roman *palum*, mentioned in MAN, 1941, p. 101, and 1943, p. 32, col. 1, as a shepherd's club, survived long in parts of Europe. In an engraving by George Hoefnagel, c. 1567, published in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, 1572), is a scene illustrating Burgos in which a shepherd carries a staff curved at the tip like a hockey stick. The usual implement is a long staff with a curled end, such as Paris bears in Rubens' picture of the Judgement of Paris, now in the National Gallery, and other pictures of the period.

NOTE 3.—In MAN, 1945, p. 61, I suggested some possible localities of early Libyan settlements in the Nile Valley. It is no doubt speculative to include the Badarians, but there is some justification in the similarity in shape of some ivory vessels found among their remains and a basalt jar found by Oric Bates at Marsa Matrûh, in eastern Libya (see *Ancient Egypt*, 1915, pp. 163, ff.). Petrie, on pp. 165, ff., established the likeness of the jar to others that he had collected in Egypt and emphasized the advanced culture of the Libyans evinced by Bates's finds, as also, though later, by the booty captured from the Libyans by Merneptah, amounting, according to the records, to 9,000 swords of copper or bronze, 120,000 pieces of other arms and equipment, and 3,000 of household loot (see Breasted, *History of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 468–9, and *Ancient Records*, III, pars. 581–9. For the Badarians, see Brunton and Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilization*, p. 28, and Pl. xxiii, nos. 5, 6, 8, and 10).

NOTE 4.—The suggestion made above, p. 114, col. 2, of religious disillusionment is primarily applicable to the king and his court, extending perhaps to some of the 'scribes' or civil servants. But courtly religion, as such, could hardly be shared by the mass of commoners, tillers of the soil, separated from 'the quality' by a gulf deeper even than that which separated Greek philosophical circles from the 'base mechanic'; were such sharing to be allowed in the case under review the result might be dangerous for the social system. It seems therefore likely that political considerations came into account in the kings' display of reliance on older phases of religion. A further inducement in the matter may have been a realization of the swelling power of the priesthood, well expressed by Breasted in his *History*, pp. 491 and 505, f., and the *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, II, pp. 180–5. That body remained constantly alive and busy while kings and dynasties waxed and waned; in the tide of affairs they found and seized many opportunities of aggrandisement, even-

tually becoming possessed, as Diodorus reported (I, 73), of one-third of the land: they also owned the Nubian gold-mines, extracted in a moment of royal weakness, and, according to the Harris papyrus, held slaves or serfs to the number of 107,000, reckoned by Breasted at two per cent. of the population: other figures are equally monstrous. It is not strange, then, that, as in the Fifth Dynasty, they seized the kingship, founding the Twenty-First Dynasty. Against the menace of this rising power the kings might find some real support in favouring the immemorial beliefs and customs of the populace, thereby strengthening the bonds between them and their subjects.

Yet the priestly power continued to grow, the final result being, if we may trust Diodorus (I, 70), the reduction of the king's activities to an almost mechanical routine, and in this, we must suppose, the courtiers and scribes joined hands with the priests.

NOTE 5.—The conclusion advanced in MAX, 1941, p. 97, that the original home of the Horians was not in the Delta had been previously put forward by me in a review (MAX, 1934, pp. 195, ff.) of Childe's *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, where I observed that Sethe's argument from the Egyptians' respect for the South was untenable, for they would certainly hold in veneration the region whence they came, and not whither they were pointing their way, as he supposed—quite unknown as that region would be. I may add that the suggestion made there that people who worshipped a falcon-god would naturally identify him with the great god of the Horians when they had conquered the whole country, was put forth also by Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, p. 101. The identification of Damanhour with *Hermopolis* (MAX, 1943, p. 33, col. 2) has received from some authorities the explanation that 'The City of Horus' was not placed there but on a site nearby. Sethe's theory has recently received further support from Dr. Alan Gardiner (*J. Eg. Arch.*, XXX, pp. 23, ff.), where, discussing the site of the original city of Horus, *Behdet*, he points to an inscription in Zoser's temple of the Third Dynasty showing Horus as a southern deity. He maintains that this only shows that the Delta city of that name—and there seem to have been several—had been duplicated very early in the south. But surely the opposite is the natural conclusion. This is far the earliest mention of Behdet, with the greatest weight of authority against which the Sethian theory, however ingenious, can hardly hold its head.

NOTE 6.—Evidence for the great cultural advance predicated for the Gerzean age (MAX, 1941, p. 97) has been notably strengthened by the recent discoveries between Cairo and Helouan reported in the *Sunday Times*, 24 December, 1944.

NOTE 7.—The peaceful penetration into Egypt of the Osirians predicated in the previous article (MAX, XLV, p. 62), appears to have had a parallel in the entry of the pastoral Arameans into agricultural Canaan, to form a large element in that country's ultimate very mixed population—see Dr. T. H. Robinson in Vol. I of the *History of Israel*, p. 47. The same article in MAX (p. 61) touched on the walling of ancient towns and villages, and this has been shown by Dr. Robinson (pp. 314, f.), from evidence of recent excavations in Palestine, to have been the practice there for even small villages.

The smaller walls there referred to had probably the purpose of keeping out hyenas hunting after unprotected babies. Such walls are common—or were till recently—in villages of modern Nubia.

NOTE 8.—In addition to the classical references about the marshy conditions of the Delta, made in my last article (MAX, 1945, p. 60, col. 2), note should be made of the record of Thucydides (I, 104 and 110) that the Persians were successfully opposed by the dwellers in the marshland of Egypt under their king, Amyrtæus, whose capital, Maræa, was near the island of Pharos, off the site of the later Alexandria, and gave its name to the modern Mariout and its reed-bound lake Marcotis. He added that the 'marshmen' were the best fighters among the Egyptians: it can hardly be doubted that they constituted the party of Egyptians who are recorded by Herodotus (II, 18—see my article, MAX, 1945, p. 61, col. 2) as claiming to be Libyans and speaking the Libyan language.

Let us add, as a last touch, that the Delta had for emblem a marsh bird, perhaps a heron.

NOTE 9.—A reasoned account of the phallism rife in the festivals of ancient Greece and elsewhere has been given by Professor Gilbert Murray in his book on Aristophanes (Oxford, 1933), pp. 3-8.

For Egyptians a further reference may be made to Plutarch, *de Is.*, sec. 59, where he says that at their festivals they 'both speak and think words of most wicked and lewd meaning, even of the gods themselves'—some of the surviving literature may, indeed, be taken as supporting this account.

**THE ELECTION OF AN UNDANG OF JELEBU.** *By Major J. M. Gallick, Civil Affairs Officer, Seremban and Jelebu, Malay Peninsula*

**104** The election and installation of an Undang of Jelebu is an infrequent event, which occurs on the average about once in 30 years. An election has recently been held, and it was therefore thought that it might be of interest to give an account of it. The election is so much involved with the customary law and social structure of Jelebu that it is necessary to give a summary account of that by way of preface.

The Jelebu country is a valley surrounded, and to some extent isolated, by ranges of hills. It lies in the north-eastern corner of the State of Negri Sembilan: it is both a political entity and an administrative district. Jelebu takes its name from one of the small rivers which run through the valley. The present population (estimated 22,000) comprises Malays, who grow rice and, in some cases, own small-holdings planted with rubber, Chinese, who are tin miners, shopkeepers, and market gardeners, and a smaller number of Indians, mostly labourers on rubber estates.

The tradition is that the original inhabitants of Jelebu were two tribes of Sakai, the Batin and the Jenang. Centuries ago Malay settlers from Menangkabau in Sumatra penetrated to Jelebu by different passes and in different parties, and settled in the country. They came to some arrangement with the Sakai whereby they acquired land and, so the legend runs, intermarried with the Sakai women. It is conjectured that the Sakai were to some extent absorbed into the clan (*waris*) system of the immigrants, and that Batin and Jenang were among the progenitors of the present Waris Mentri and Waris Ombi respectively.

The Jelebu clans are exogamous: marriage is matrilineal and descent matrilineal. The inheritance of property is determined by three sets of rules:

- (a) the property of the wife (*harta p̄saka* or *dapatan*) at marriage, which includes the land, descends from mother to daughter;
- (b) the property which the husband brings in (*harta m̄mbawa*) at marriage reverts on his death or divorce to his *waris*;
- (c) property acquired after marriage, otherwise than by inheritance (*harta p̄ncharian*), is regarded as the joint property of the spouses, and is divided on death or divorce of the spouses.

This is an attempt to summarize the general principles. The application of them is much disputed.

The Malays of Jelebu, as elsewhere, are Moslems, but they do not usually apply Moslem law to matters for which the customary law (*'adat*) provides. The whole structure of Jelebu society is determined by the

*'adat*, to which the Malays cling fiercely. There is a well-known Malay proverb:

*biar anak mati, jangan mati 'adat*

Let your child die, but do not let the custom die. But it is also recognized that the custom is not immutable, but is what the people make it. There is another proverb:

*alah 'adat teguh pakat*

an agreement overcomes the custom

*sakali ayer bah sakali pasir berubah*

the flood tide moves the sand.

The *'adat* is unwritten, and its details are not certain. When there is dispute about the *'adat* it is usual to quote precedents. For this it is necessary to rely on old men, whose recollection tends to be biased by their own views on the matter at issue. Furthermore, it has often happened that conflicting precedents have been established at different times. Hence it is not difficult to quote precedents on both sides. Certainly argument about the *'adat* is the national sport of Jelebu.

The political constitution of Jelebu is part of the *'adat*. Hence it is unwritten, much disputed, and rather complex. The two basic principles are unanimous election and rotation of office between clans or sub-clans.

The main tribe, the Biduanda, who represent the descendants of the largest party of immigrants, and of the Sakai who intermarried, are divided into major clans or *waris*. The other tribes are not, except in one case, divided into *waris*, and in the constitution they rank equal with the *waris* of the Biduanda. Each of the Biduanda *waris* and the minor tribes is divided into sub-clans, called *p̄rut* (the word means 'stomach' or 'womb,' and may suggest descent from one woman-ancestor). Each *p̄rut* is headed by an *ibu buapak* (elder), and each *waris* or minor tribe by a clan leader or tribal chief (*lumbaga*). The eight principal leaders form the Undang's Council of 'Eight Men' (*orang d̄lepan*), and the Undang (law-giver) of Jelebu is the apex of the system. All of these offices carry special titles, and the holder of any office is entitled to the honorific prefix *dato*. All hold office for life, subject to good behaviour.

The *ibu buapak* of a *p̄rut* is chosen by the people of the *p̄rut* subject to confirmation from above. The clan or tribal heads are chosen by the people of the tribe or *waris*, under the guidance of their *ibu buapak*, who are guided by the wishes of their people, subject to confirmation by the Undang. But here the principle of rotation (*giliran*) comes in. In each *waris* or tribe the sub-divisions (*p̄rut*) have the right in turn to provide the next candidate for the office. If the last office holder is of a certain *p̄rut*, then,

after his death, his successor must come from the *pěrat* next in rotation within the *waris*.

The Undang is chosen by the Council of Eight. The right to provide a candidate for this office is limited to three *waris* of the Biduanda tribe, and they also enjoy the right in turn by strict order of rotation. The two other *waris* of the Biduanda are the Mentri and the Ombi, who may represent the mixed Sakai strain. It may be conjectured that when the original compact was made between the Biduanda immigrants and the Sakai, they received as compensation the right to provide the principal officers of State. At all events although the Mentri and Ombi *waris* cannot provide an Undang, their *lumbagas* are the two senior members of the Undang's Council and have special duties under the constitution.

It must be added that an election to any of these offices is valid only if unanimity (*kěbulatan*) is achieved by the electors. Under a rule laid down in the State Council of Negri Sembilan in 1917 the Undang has the power of appointment when the electors fail to reach unanimity within three months of the office falling vacant.

In the days before British protection was established by treaty, the Undang was the ruler of Jelebu, but he was a constitutional monarch. The Undang had to, and still must, refer all new proposals to his Council of Eight *lumbagas*, who themselves have the right to depose or confirm any officer, including the Undang. The Undang was above all else the 'law-giver'—this is probably the meaning of the word *Undang*. The Undang in Council was, and still is, the supreme authority on the customary law of Jelebu. He collects court-fines and administers the proceeds for the common weal.

In Jelebu now, as elsewhere in the F.M.S., most of the higher executive duties of government are discharged by government officers. The Undang retains some of his customary duties and powers and, by long-established custom, he is consulted before any decision is taken in other spheres of government which will affect his people. The Undang's prestige and influence among the Malays of Jelebu are high, he has a voice in the conduct of government, but, save in a very limited sphere of customary law, he does not govern.

The late Undang of Jelebu, Dato' Abdullah, died on 11 August, 1945, after holding office for over 40 years. In accordance with custom, the Dato' Mentri, as the senior member of the Council, became Regent until a new Undang should be appointed. As has been said, the Undang is chosen by rotation from three *waris*, known as the *waris bėrundang*. These *waris* in order of rotation are Waris Ulu Jelebu, Waris Sarin, and Waris Kėmin. As the late Undang was of the Waris Sarin it was necessary that

his successor should be chosen from the Waris Kėmin.

The right of election rests with the eight members of the Council, but before they are convened for this purpose, suitable candidates must be nominated. The Dato' Mentri through the Dato' Ombi, who is the authority on rules of inheritance, instructs the *waris*, whose turn it is to put forward candidates. In this case the Dato' Majinda, as head of the Waris Kėmin, was responsible for arranging the nomination of candidates. The Waris Kėmin itself comprises three *pěrats* (sub-clans): *pěrat Triang*, *pěrat Kėmin*, *pěrat Bomban*. And in this case the *ibu buapak* of each of these *pěrats* consulted his people and put forward one name. The Dato' Majinda then referred the names of two other *lumbagas*, the Dato' Raja Balang of Waris Ulu Jelebu, and the Dato' Paduka of Waris Sarin, whose duty it was to satisfy themselves that the candidates had been correctly nominated. It will be observed that up to this point the proceedings for nomination are confined to the three *waris bėrundang*.

The names were then submitted to the Dato' Ombi of Waris Ombi, who satisfied himself that the candidates were eligible by the rules of inheritance and descent (*pěsaka*). The next stage should have been an investigation by the Dato' Mentri to ensure that the candidates were sufficiently versed in the *'adat* (custom) to be able to discharge the duties of Undang. The Dato' Mentri should then convene the Council and submit the names to it. But, unfortunately, a few days before the day appointed for this meeting, it was found necessary to arrest the Dato' Mentri on a serious charge of collaboration with the Japanese. In view of the customary rule that the Dato' Mentri must investigate the qualifications of the candidates and submit their names to the Council, and also that all eight electors must be there to reach unanimity, the enforced absence of the Dato' Mentri presented a difficult problem. However, the remaining seven electors agreed unanimously that, since the Dato' Mentri could not play his part, the Dato' Ombi could submit the names, and that unanimity of the seven of them would make a valid election. There is said to be one precedent for this, from an election of an Undang of Rembau.

Accordingly the election meeting was held. Custom requires that the meeting should take place in a house and in a place within the territory of the *waris* from which the candidates are drawn. It was contended that the election must take place on the site of the first settlement of the *waris* when it came into Jelebu. But this was overruled. The proceedings were secret. The names were submitted on a piece of paper, and the electors indicated their choice by pointing with their fingers to the name of the candi-

date whom they supported. The candidate's names must not be said aloud. It appears that there must have been previous agreement amongst the electors, since they achieved unanimity at once, which is most surprising in elections of this kind. Although the electors are all of different *waris* and tribes they can all have relations by marriage in the *waris* which is eligible to provide the Undang, owing to the rule of *waris* exogamy. In consequence of family ties and other factional considerations, the electors may have their own axes to grind in these elections.

In the old days, before the concurrence of the British authorities was required, the secret election would have been followed immediately by the public announcement and installation of the successful candidate. This is still possible if a British officer, authorized to give approval forthwith, attends the election. The writer did in fact attend, but he was not authorized to give immediate approval. In consequence the election meeting was followed by an interval of a fortnight while the electors' recommendation was considered and approved.

On 30 October, 1945, the successful candidate, Che Shahmarudin bin Haji Abdul Rahman, was proclaimed and installed. The ceremony took place at the same spot as the election meeting, but in a large building erected for the occasion. The Senior Civil Affairs Officer, Negri Sembilan and Malacca, who, under the present Military Administration, stands in the place of the British Resident for purposes such as this, was present with some other officers. There was a large crowd of Malays of both sexes.

At one end of the building the wall was draped with bright cloths, and in front of the wall was a slightly raised area covered with coloured mats piled on top of each other. To the right of this seat of honour sat the youngest son of the late Undang. On either side stood the ten retainers (*Juak*) of the Undang, holding the insignia of their office. Each *Juak* has a special object to carry on these occasions, a spear, a sword, a *kris*, an umbrella, and so on. Further down the room sat the *lembaga* and other notabilities.

After discussion with the experts on the custom it had been agreed that the duties of the absent Dato' Mentri could be performed at this ceremony by the senior *ibu buapak* of the Dato' Mentri's *waris*. In a *waris* the senior *ibu buapak* is the one who heads the *priut* which by the order of rotation will provide the next head of the *waris*. In this case it was the Dato' Amar Pahlawan of *priut* Durian Dasun.

The Dato' Amar (*trier* Dato' Mentri as Regent) led the chosen candidate forward, seated him on the seat of honour, invested him with the turban (*d'star*) and *kris* of office, and proclaimed him Undang.

Then fifteen notabilities performed their obeisance (*m'ngghadap*) to the newly elected Undang, to mark

their acceptance of his authority. These persons, in the order in which they came forward, were :

Dato' Amar Pahlawan	head of Waris Mentri
(acting for Dato' Mentri *)	
<i>Dato' Mentri's officers</i>	
Dato' Nziang *	lembaga of Mungkal tribe
Dato' Chinchang *	lembaga of Tanah Datar tribe
Dato' Senara *	lembaga of Batu Blang tribe
Dato' Amar Penghulu	lembaga of the Ulu Klawang Biduanda (a separate tribe)
Dato' Ombi *	head of Waris Ombi
Dato' Majinda *	head of Waris Kemin
Dato' Raja Balang *	head of Waris Ulu Jelebu
Dato' Paduka *	head of Waris Sarin
Dato' Shahbandar	lembaga of Mungkal tribe, Waris Ayer
Dato' Raja	lembaga of a sub-branch of the Waris Sarin
Dato' Berumban	<i>ibu buapak</i> of <i>p'rut</i> Kampong Tengah, Waris Mentri
Dato' Memperang	<i>ibu buapak</i> of <i>p'rut</i> Triang, Waris Ombi
The Seka of the Waris Mentri	(a woman)
The Seka of the Waris Ombi	(a woman).

The persons marked \* are members of the Council of Eight. The reasons for the order of precedence are not known.

The first eleven are the heads of the eleven clans or tribes which make up the Malay community of Jelebu (Waris Sarin and the Mungkal tribe are both split into sections with a *lembaga* each). It is not clear at first sight why, after the Dato' Mentri and Dato' Ombi had done their *m'ngghadap* as heads of their *waris*, it should be necessary to bring in an *ibu buapak* and a *seka* of these *waris* in addition. They should owe loyalty because their *waris* heads have made obeisance. It may be that the inclusion of these people in the *m'ngghadap* ceremony derives from the special position of the Waris Mentri and Waris Ombi as partially descended, so tradition has it, from the aboriginal Sakai who intermarried with the immigrant Malays of the Biduanda. The inclusion of two women is in keeping with this.

The actual procedure of *m'ngghadap* is intricate and contains many niceties of gesture and position, which are critically judged by the onlookers, but are not apparent to the foreigner. Between each move there is a motion of the arms and hands: the arms are



brought up from the sides, moving in line with the shoulders, until, with the elbows bent, the two hands (fists clenched) touch about an inch in front of the forehead. The hands are then unclenched so that the palms lie together and the two thumbs touch the forehead. The hands are then brought down on to the knees, palms downwards. This motion is indicated by (A) in the following account of the *mēnghadap*:

The person who is to make the *mēnghadap* comes forward to within about 3 4 yards in front of the Undang and sits down on the ground cross-legged (A); with his right hand he pulls his right leg round under him from in front to lie across the other leg behind him (he is then sitting back on legs which are crossed) (A); he then puts his hands out on the ground in front, fingers splayed and pointing slightly outwards, and draws himself forward about a yard by moving his body up to his hands (A). There are three such moves, each followed by (A), and he is then close enough to bend forward and kiss the Undang's hand (A), and then kiss it again (A); he then goes backwards three moves, reversing the motions of coming forward, and pushing himself back on his hands, still with (A) after each move, then pulls his right leg round so that he is sitting cross-legged again (A), stands up, walks backwards a varying number of paces (3–5), and resumes his seat among the notabilities.

After the *mēnghadap* ceremony there is a feast given by the electors in honour of the Undang. The Undang invites the electors to a feast a few days later. On both occasions a large number of commoners are entertained.

The first step is to announce to H.H. the Yang di-Pertuan Besar that a new Undang has been elected: the death of the previous Undang is reported by the head of the *waris* from which he comes, soon after the event. Two envoys, the Dato' Ombi and Dato' Chinchang, were sent to Sri Menanti to announce the election on 3 November. H.H. the Yang di-Pertuan Besar sent back an invitation to the Undang to visit him on 10 November.

On 9 November the Undang and about 120 retainers arrived at Sri Menanti and stayed some way away from the *astana* (palace). The *mēnghadap* ceremony on 10 November was attended by a large concourse

of notabilities and commoners, as well as by several British officers. In the middle of the room was a long, narrow 'pen' about 4 yards wide, 20 yards long, and 3 feet high, consisting of a wooden rail from which yellow (the royal colour) hangings hung to the ground. H.H. the Yang di-Pertuan Besar sat on a chair at one end, and the Undang at the other on the ground, with the Jelebu chiefs and many other notabilities sitting on the ground along the two long sides of the 'pen.'

The first step was the delivery to H.H. the Yang di-Pertuan Besar of the customary presents on the occasion of the election of an Undang. These are: one suit of clothes, one *bahara*, eight pieces of cake (*bokor*), one *sirih* (betel leaf) dish, and all the ingredients. The suit of clothes is called *képala mayat* 'the head of the corpse,' and is in theory the clothes of the late Undang produced to prove his death. In fact they are now usually new clothes made for the occasion. A *bahara* in normal parlance is a measure of weight. Possibly the original gift was a stated quantity of some commodity. Negri Sembilan Malays have told the writer that they do not know the origin of the use of *bahara* in this sense and others say it was a *bahara* of tin. It is now represented by 824 in currency.

These presents were carried forward by a palace official and a squire. They moved forward and back in the same way as at the *mēnghadap* to the Undang, except that they started farther back and made seven moves instead of three. The Undang then moved forward in the same way, kissed hands, and went back three moves. H.H. the Yang di-Pertuan Besar then read a proclamation announcing his recognition of the Undang, and exhorting him to administer faithfully the customary laws of Jelebu. The Undang replied agreeing to do so, and then withdrew to his position at the foot of the 'pen.' The assembled concourse then joined in a Moslem prayer.

It may be added that at these *mēnghadap* ceremonies etiquette requires that the faces of the participants should be absolutely expressionless, and that they should affect not to see each other.

After the *mēnghadap* the guests were entertained. The Undang and his party returned to Jelebu that evening.

## PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES

**The Perforated Stone Hammer, its Typology and Distribution.** Summary of a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries, March, 1946, by H. H. Coghlan, F.S.A., and Lily F. Chitty, F.S.A.

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While the hammer-stone, the pounder, and the club are the oldest known forms of hammer and date far back into the Paleolithic Age, the perforated stone hammer series is far from being of recent origin. Such implements were in full use during the first centuries of the third millennium B.C., and

it is quite possible that they go back to the fourth millennium. Hitherto a typology to cover the perforated-hammer series has been lacking. The authors distinguish two main branches of the hammer family: those which are entirely curvilinear in form, and those in which we may distinguish marked angles (and even plane surfaces) in the outlines.

In the first group, or 'Curvilinear Branch,' there are three sub-types:

(a) *The Egg-shaped Type*—Such hammers are characterized

by an egg-shaped profile with smooth, unbroken curves. The shaft-hole is bored through the smaller end of the hammer.

(b) *The Elliptical Type*. Perhaps the most common form of stone hammer. Of elliptical form when viewed in plan, cross-sections taken through the body of the hammer are also usually elliptical in outline. This type may well be called a 'pebble-hammer,' since its form is very largely conditioned by the natural form of the stone.

(c) *Spherical and Elliptical Maces*. These are a well-known and numerous class. Sometimes they were intended for, and used as, hammers. Often they were for ceremonial use only, and must then be considered purely as maces.

In the second group, our 'Angled Branch,' the following sub-types are distinguished:

(a) *The Barrel Type*. Round-bodied hammers, which when viewed in plan or elevation clearly resemble a barrel. A good specimen should have flat hammer-faces with the shaft-hole approximately equidistant from the ends.

(b) *The Pestle Type*. The hammer takes the form of a truncated cone and usually the hammer-faces are in the form of a marked dome. There is an angle (or at any rate a decided change in curvature) between the sides of the body and the beginning of the hammer-faces. Cross-sections through the body are approximately circular.

(c) *The Flattened Pestle*. This sub-type has 'pestle' characteristics, but its cross-section is of elliptical or sub-rectangular form.

(d) *The Narrow-butted Pestle*. Here the butt-end is much smaller than the hammer-face, the form may be described as a 'single-ended' pestle.

(e) *The Sub-rectangular Type*. A good example of this type closely resembles a modern sledge-hammer.

Important in the typology of the stone hammer is the method of shaft-hole perforation: five distinct forms of perforation are recognized.

The distribution of both branches ('Curvilinear' and 'Angled') of the hammer-family is a very wide one, and two features stand out very clearly: firstly, the relative scarcity of the perforated hammer in Europe and the Near East; secondly, the relatively dense distribution of the holed hammer in Great Britain and Ireland. At first sight one tends to ascribe the scarcity of hammers, particularly in the Near East, to lack of publication, or to records having been made in obscure works which are difficult of access. This, however, does not explain the fact that certain excavations (as for example at Hissarlik ('Troy')) have produced large numbers of hammers which have been illustrated and described, while in other cases modern scientific excavation of sites where one would expect to find perforated hammers has yielded negative results. We must make due allowance for the fact that no doubt in certain countries (as for example in Egypt) craftsmen adopted a most conservative attitude in hammer technology, persisting in their use of the hammer-stone or solid pestle, held in the hand, long after other countries had adopted the handled hammer.

In this brief summary it is not possible fully to discuss the origin and spread of all the major and sub-types enumerated in the typology. Perhaps the most interesting and important type to select for mention from the angled group is the pestle variety. In Mesopotamia the pestle hammer is unquestionably of early date, for an excellent example was found during Spencer's excavations at Tepe Gawra near Mosul. This hammer was found in Middle Gawra, level VIII, and may therefore be ascribed to an early Jemdet-Nasr phase, or it may even date back into the Upper Uruk period of Mesopotamia. In Anatolia, at Troy, the type is again represented, although in the less common narrow-butted form, while excavations of megalithic buildings in Malta produced a very good example of true pestle-hammer from Mnajdra. In Ireland pestle-shaped beads have been found in a megalithic context at Carrowkeel, and amber beads, equally copies of pestle hammers, have been recorded from passage-graves at Egby and Beldrup in Denmark. Hence, for this most interesting and important type, the evidence would point to a Near Eastern origin soon after the dawn of the third millennium B.C., with an eventual transition to our shores by megalithic prospectors. In general, such datable

foreign evidence as is available points to an eastern origin for the finest types of stone hammer, and to the fact that the sophisticated shaft-hole hammer of stone is not to be found before working in metal became well established.

Of the 'Curvilinear Branch' by far the most numerous and important hammer is the Elliptical Type. It is clear that this tool was derived from a Mesolithic holed-stone series, and as such its origin may well go back into the fourth millennium. Since elliptical hammers are found in Troy I, there is little doubt that in the Near East the origin of the type was long prior to 3000 B.C. In Europe it is hardly possible to give a lower dating for sophisticated elliptical hammers, but the evidence indicates that true examples are not to be found before the spread of metallurgy: in this context, however, it must be remembered that the elliptical hammer was often merely a natural pebble with central perforation: as such it was the easiest of all hammer types to make and may well have been a universal form which was independent of any specialized craft such as metallurgy.

In general, foreign evidence points to the perforated hammer having reached our shores from Near Eastern lands, and the more ample material available from Great Britain and Ireland renders it possible to form an idea of the distribution pattern and zoning of the various types in these islands.

At least 170 specimens of the fine types of hammer are known from sites in the British Isles. From this number are excluded all axe-hammers and derivative mace-heads (e.g. the Criche and Bann River series) and all transverse-edged perforated axes and adziform tools (including the 'cushion' mace-head), together with the innumerable pebble-implements so widely diffused in Britain, which are generally of elliptical form but with 'hourglass' perforations.

The fine, developed hammer is distinguished by a *cylindrical* shaft-hole, although in a considerable number the perforation was bored from opposite faces.

Many British hammers were manufactured from very hard but most attractive stones and are superb works of applied art, highly polished, and beautiful in shape and substance. The *Pestle-shaped Hammer*, with its sub-types, is the most characteristic British form. Such hammers are usually small, ranging from 2 to 4 inches in length, but averaging only 3-3½ inches; as a rule the weight is less than 1 lb. In Ireland especially the pestle-hammer was often of an elegant waisted form, having an almost imperceptible *entasis* level with the shaft-hole. Many specimens of all our types have been obviously employed as hammers, but a considerable proportion shows no signs of use: some of these may have been ceremonial insignia, but Mr. Herbert Maryon has shown that, for the working of fine sheet-metal, a perfectly smooth hammer-face is required, and it is probable that at least the 'pestle' series were so employed, their domed faces being related to those of a modern gold-beater's hammer.

Three uncommon kinds of British hammers must be mentioned. In the Curvilinear Branch a few elliptical specimens have the faces ground down: we term this variant the *Flattened Ellipse*. Related to it is the *Facetted Type* of hammer, in which the form is intermediate between the Curvilinear and Angled Branches, combining an ovoid plan with flattened faces sharply marked off from the rounded sides: plan examples are rare, but four such stone hammers have elaborate lozenge-shaped patterns worked over the greater part of their polished surfaces: hence the designation. Closely similar hammers of antler and of flint with the same decoration were adduced as their prototypes by the late Reginald A. Smith. An unusual sub-type having a single hammer-face and *rounded butt* includes important variants (Tormore, Arran: Stonehenge) that have affinities with the cushion mace-head.

It is noteworthy that the spherical mace forms are almost unknown in Britain, and the 'Sub-rectangular Type' with straight shaft-hole is very uncommon.

Relatively few fine holed stone hammers have been found in definite contexts or with dateable associations (only 7 in England, 7 in Scotland, and 1 in Wales), but these suffice to show that they ranged from the latest Neolithic well into the Late Bronze Age. Six are known from round barrows of

the Bronze Age. Three Scottish examples of the Angled Branch were found in a megalithic setting (Tormore, Arran; Ormiegill, Caithness; Taiversoe Tuack, Orkney); one with a food-vessel (Doune, Perthshire); 2 of barrel form, in Late Bronze Age urnfields (Larps, Ayr.; Cambusbarron, Stirlings.). One was found within the area of a Pembrokeshire stone circle (Llanwnda). In England, a fragment (probably of a flattened pestle-hammer) came from an upper level in Windmill Hill causewayed camp, Avebury, Wilts. A beautiful little artifact of related type was associated with a cremation inserted in the bank enclosing Stonehenge. The two most important group finds comprise an elliptical specimen in the Normanton Bush Barrow, Wilts., and a barrel-hammer in Towthorpe Barrow 139, E.R., Yorks.; each was associated with bronze daggers of Breton type and that from Normanton with gold and other objects of the rich Wessex culture.

*Distribution.*—The hammer distribution is incidental in that of Bronze Age antiquities in Britain and it is doubtless to that period that the majority must be assigned. Maps of the two branches of hammers reveal no great differences except in Ireland, where the 'Curvilinear' form with straight shaft-hole is rare, while the 'Pestle' and 'Barrel' types are well represented, notably in Ulster and near the fringes of the Central Plain. Examples of both branches are found down

the North-Eastern Lowland of Scotland, with contacts towards Ireland along the Firth of Clyde. They occur in Cumbria and East Yorkshire, in East Anglia, up the Trent Basin to the Southern Peak District, and along the Thames and Kennet to Wessex. In S.E. England few are known, and Dr. Eliot Curwen's fine 'egg' from near Finston, Sussex, stands out in isolation.

The Welsh hammers and a single broken 'pestle' from South Shropshire come from lines of Bronze Age traffic linking up with the Irish trade in flat bronze axes.

South-Western England presents a curious blank on the maps, but the fragment of a flattened-pestle hammer found on Santon Warren West, near Thetford, Norfolk, has been identified by petrological analysis as of Group I rock of the South-Western Report, which is believed to be of Cornish origin. A great deal more work needs to be done on the precise identification of the stones employed in making these hammers. From Cornwall to Norfolk is a far cry, but this morsel adds interesting testimony to the early use of the Icknield Way: we are reminded that hammer-shaped amber pendants, related to those from Ireland and from Denmark, were found in a round barrow among grave-goods of the Wessex Culture at Cressingham, Norfolk, as well as Lake and Normanton, near Stonehenge.

#### Pan-African Congress on Prehistory. January, 1947

**106** The Government of Kenya has agreed that a Pan-African Congress on Prehistory (Archaeology) shall be convened in Nairobi, Kenya Colony, during January, 1947:

The Congress will be concerned with the prehistory of the African continent and the discussions will also include relevant subjects, such as:—

- (a) those aspects of palaeontology which intimately concern prehistory, such as the use of fossils for dating deposits, and the question of African fossil ape remains and their relation to the problem of the origin of man;
- (b) climatic changes—pluvials and glacials—in relation to prehistory; and
- (c) quaternary geology in relation to prehistory.

It is proposed that the Congress should be divided into two parts. The first three and a half days will be devoted to discussions upon problems of a general nature, including the following:—

- (a) Discussion as to the terminology to be used in describing the various pluvial periods and post-pluvial phases of the Pleistocene, with a view to reaching an agreed terminology for use by all African research workers.
- (b) Discussion with a view to determining an agreed terminology for describing stone-age cultures in Africa, more particularly to agree on definitions of such terms as 'Abbevillian,' 'Acheulean,' 'Levalloisian,' 'Aurignacian,' 'Capsian,' 'Tumbian,' 'San-gaan,' 'Fauresmith,' 'Magosian,' 'Smithfield,' 'Stillbay,' 'Aterian,' etc.
- (c) To discuss the definitions of the words 'Pliocene' and 'Pleistocene' with a view to reaching an agreed definition throughout the continent.

It is suggested that Haug's definition of 1912 should be accepted as standard.

- (d) Discussion on the best means of obtaining the maximum co-operation in respect of research programmes in prehistory and allied subjects in the various African territories.
- (e) Consideration of the question of representations to be made to the Governments of African territories on the subject of protection of prehistoric sites and of other

sites of connected interest, with a view to achieving as great a degree of uniformity as possible throughout the continent.

- (f) Discussion as to control of excavations and preparation of the necessary recommendations which should be made in this connection.
- (g) Preparation of resolutions to be submitted to the Governments of African territories on the future of research into prehistory and allied subjects.

The second part of the Congress will be devoted to the reading of papers and to discussions upon discoveries made in the field of prehistory since the outbreak of war, and more particularly to such discoveries as have had little publicity outside the territories in which they were made, owing to war-time conditions.

Any person wishing to read one or more papers at the Congress is requested to communicate as soon as possible with the Organizing Secretary.

Excursions to sites in East Africa are planned to take place both during the days immediately preceding the Congress and also during the week following the Congress. The excursion proposed for the period prior to the Congress is designed to give Delegates an opportunity of seeing the principal type sections upon which the pluvial and post-pluvial climatic changes for Kenya were originally based, and also to see some of the more important prehistoric sites in the Rift Valley.

On Sunday, 19 January, between the first and the second parts of the Congress, there will be an excursion to the Olorgesalie prehistoric site, which is being developed as a 'museum on the spot' to illustrate the evolution of the Acheulean culture.

Negotiations are in progress with the British Overseas Airways Corporation with a view to obtaining special air travel facilities for Delegates to the Congress.

It is expected that it will be possible to obtain free hospitality for the majority of the Delegates for the period during which the Congress is in session at Nairobi, but persons who would prefer hotel accommodation will be able to obtain it, if sufficiently long warning is given.

The Kenya Government has very generously made available a sum of money to meet a part of the cost of the car travel of all Delegates during the excursions in Kenya.

but a proportion of the cost will have to be met by the Delegates.

It would greatly facilitate the work of the Organizing Secretary if all persons who hope to be able to attend the Congress, whether as Official Delegates or in a private capacity, would send in a preliminary statement to this effect as soon as possible.

The provisional programme covers the period between Saturday, 11 January, 1947, and Saturday, 1 February, 1947.

Further information may be obtained from the Secretary, Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, P.O. Box 658, Nairobi, Kenya.

**Water Transport in Asia.** *Summary of a lecture by James Hornell delivered to the Royal Asiatic Society, 9 May, 1946*

**107** To Asiatic ingenuity and invention we owe the beginnings of the principal types of water transport in use throughout the world at the present time.

Water transport may be classified as swimming floats, buoyed rafts, timber rafts, reed canoes, coracles, skin and bark boats, and dugout canoes. From the last all carved-built and clinker-built vessels have been derived. There was no single origin: man devised a specific type of water vehicle according to his environment. Living in a forest-clad region, he constructed a rude form of log raft: if he were a marsh dweller, his earliest attempt might be a bundle of reeds or bulrushes, at first single and ridden astride, and then, later, formed into a primitive canoe by the addition of side-bundles. Other men, roaming as nomads with their flocks and herds over wide expanses of open country, intersected by wide rivers, would be the likely people to invent the skin float and then later, when need required, to expand the idea by joining a number of skin floats together on the underside of a light framework of branches or logs, thereby creating the earliest buoyed raft. With the invention of the art of making pottery, a bowl-shaped vessel would serve to enable flooded land to be crossed, and from this, the tub-boat and the wicker coracle covered with hide may have arisen, being handier and less fragile.

The evolution of Chinese river and sea craft was from the Formosan bamboo sailing-raft through the sampan into the sailing junk. The primitive system of sewing together the edges of adjoining planks by means of coir cord became differentiated in the carved and the clinker builds according

as the edges were placed together or the upper plank overlapped the lower. There was difficulty in understanding how the Viking system of attaching the frames of a boat to the skin planking by lashings passed through cleats left upstanding when the planks were adzed out should be duplicated in Indonesian and Melanesian boats. He considered independent invention improbable, though it is almost equally improbable to visualize any cultural link between ancient Scandinavia and the island world lying to the south-east of Asia.

Alone among Asiatic craft, the *ulakh* of Benares is the only vessel in Asia which is clinker-built: there seems to be no record of any intermediate links in any of the lands lying between Scandinavia and India.

**Palestine Institute of Folklore and Ethnology.** (Cf. MAN, 1946, 11)

**108** As from September, 1945, the Jewish Folklore Institute has assumed the name of the Palestine Institute of Folklore and Ethnology. The journal of the Institute, *EDOTH* ('Communities'), a *Quarterly for Folklore and Ethnology*, began to appear in October, 1945. The new address of the Institute is: 34 David Street, Jerusalem, Palestine.

**Physical Anthropology in Turkey**

**109** In the *Bulletin* (X, 38 (1946), pp. 232-254) of the Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) is a 'Study of the Skulls from Masat Hoyük' excavated by the Society and described by Dr. Muzaffer Süleyman Senyurek, Assistant Professor of Anthropology in the University of Ankara. The hoyük of Masat near Zile, in the province of Takat, is a stratified mound occupied from chalcolithic to Phrygian (early iron age) times. In the copper-age layer parts of seven skeletons were found, of which five are sufficiently preserved for measurement: but only one skull could be restored. Like the majority of the chalcolithic and copper age individuals of Anatolia it is dolichocephalic (c. 1, 66-85), but it is not certain whether it belongs to the more Mediterranean or the more East-African type.

An English summary of this paper is given, and a full report of the excavation is promised. J. L. M.

## CORRESPONDENCE

**Antiquities of Dominica.** (Cf. MAN, 1946, 47)

**110** Sir, Dr. Palm will find much information in 'The Caribs of Dominica,' by Douglas Taylor, published in *Anthropological Papers of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Bulletin 119, Washington, 1938.

Mr. Taylor publishes photos of aboriginal petroglyphs from Guadeloupe which are very like some published by J. W. Fewkes in his 'Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighbouring Islands,' 25th *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1907. Fewkes figures some carvings: notably Pl. LV, b, Pl. LIX, i, Pl. LX, d, p; Pl. LXX, d which recall the conventions of Dr. Palm's fig. 2 from the cave near Constanza; they are probably of Carib origin. Fewkes also figures many of the grotesque pottery heads

characteristic of the Tainan and Carib potters art, in which Dr. Palm will no doubt recognize his monstrous clay heads, frets, meanders, and Greek-crosses are quite characteristic of the pre-Columbian native taste both of the West Indies and most of the American continent.

Mr. Taylor mentions a past habit among the Dominican Caribs of '70 years ago' of burying their dead under the floor of a temporary hut, *karbe*. Perhaps this may throw some light on the little house tombs of Dr. Palm's fig. 3 from Hatu, although their classical lines suggest to me the effect of the renaissance *en* Spain rather than either Indian or Negro influence.

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## CORRECTIONS

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In MAN 1946, 21 for 'Ariame' read 'Asiame'.

In MAN 1946, 64 (p. 69, l. 17) for 'Tobal' read 'Tobaal'.





FIG. 2.

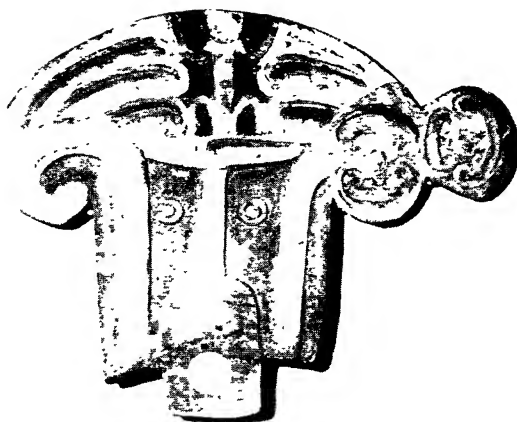


FIG. 4.

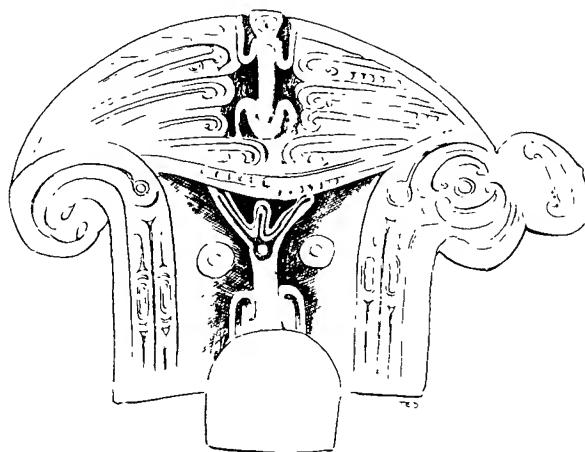


FIG. 3.

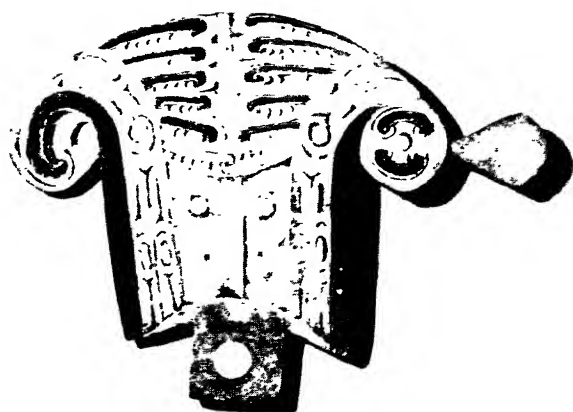


FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

# MAN

## A RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES

**'RAJIM' AND 'TABUYA' OF THE D'ENTRECASTEAUX GROUP.** *By the late Professor C. G. Seligman, M.D., F.R.S., and T. Elder Dickson, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.S.E. With Plate F and Illustrations in Text*

**112** Owing to the courtesy of Mr. F. E. Williams, Government Anthropologist, Papua, of Dr. Géza Rohéim, and of the authorities of the Hungarian Museum (especially Dr. Bartucs in charge of the Ethnographical Collections), we are in a position to throw some light on the *rajim* and *tabuya* of the D'Entrecasteaux group. Mr. Williams' information is from Morima on Ferguson Island and Duan on Normandy, while Dr. Rohéim's is particularly from the village groups of Sipipu and Boasitoroba also on Normandy. A certain amount of corroborative information is furnished by photographs taken by Dr. D. Jenness, to which we shall refer later.

The most distinctive feature of the D'Entrecasteaux *rajim* is the presence in all specimens studied of a human figure occupying the middle of the upper register of ornament, or of an oblong rectangular undecorated device occupying the position of the body of the human figure and no doubt representing it. The figure itself is called 'baby' (*wama'ea*, Ferguson), or 'newly-born child' (*guama*), in Dr. Rohéim's notes, or sometimes *Matakapotaiataia*, the local name of a typical Massim monster-killing hero. Apart from the 'baby' there does not appear to be any identity in interpretation in the Ferguson and Goodenough specimens: there is, however, the common negative feature, that from neither island is any mention made of birds, though in the majority of specimens parts of the carving are obvious bird heads or bird derivatives. On the other hand, obvious bird motifs are by no means as common as in specimens derived from other parts of the Massim area. This is the type of *rajim* recognized by Haddon (his Type 3) as 'definitely characteristic of the D'Entrecasteaux group and the Amphlett's'.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, a widely distributed type, as the author himself recognizes: indeed, so widely distributed that although it may have originated in the D'Entrecasteaux it may be doubted whether at the present day it is characteristic of any particular locality.

Perhaps the next most striking feature of the type is the tendency to bilateral symmetry both in outline and in ornament, much stronger than in *rajim* carved in other styles. In some specimens this, however, is offset by the addition of a new element producing an extreme asymmetry, of an entirely different form from that exhibited by the *rajim* of the Louisiades. In such D'Entrecasteaux specimens there projects outwards at one side of the upper part of the *rajim* a circular area (in one specimen somewhat diamond-shaped) more or less duplicating the pattern inhabiting the in-curved end of the volute, and, to judge from the photographs at our disposal, always the left volute. It must, however, be realized that this projection not only does not occur on all D'Entrecasteaux *rajim* but, so far as our experience goes, never occurs on *rajim* with the central figure, carved in the Trobriand Islands.

<sup>1</sup> *The Canoes of Oceania*, Haddon and Hornell, Vol. II, p. 277.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS IN PLATE F

FIG. 2.—DR. ROHÉIM'S SPECIMEN, FROM BWEBWAIJA VILLAGE, LOBODA DISTRICT, NORMANDY ISLAND

FIG. 3.—BOAT-DECORATION, 'BWARA': DUAU, QUANAURA, D'ENTRECASTEAUX ARCHIPELAGO  
*Ethnographical Museum, Budapest, Inv. Nr. 131.473*

FIG. 4.—BOAT-DECORATION, 'BWARA': DUAU, QUANAURA, D'ENTRECASTEAUX ARCHIPELAGO  
*Ethnographical Museum, Budapest, Inv. Nr. 131.468*

FIG. 5.—BOAT-DECORATION, 'BWARA': DUAU, QUANAURA, D'ENTRECASTEAUX ARCHIPELAGO  
*Ethnographical Museum, Budapest, Inv. Nr. 131.469*

FIG. 6.—BOAT-DECORATION, 'TABUYA': DUAU, LOBODA, D'ENTRECASTEAUX ARCHIPELAGO  
*Ethnographical Museum, Budapest, Inv. Nr. 131.475*



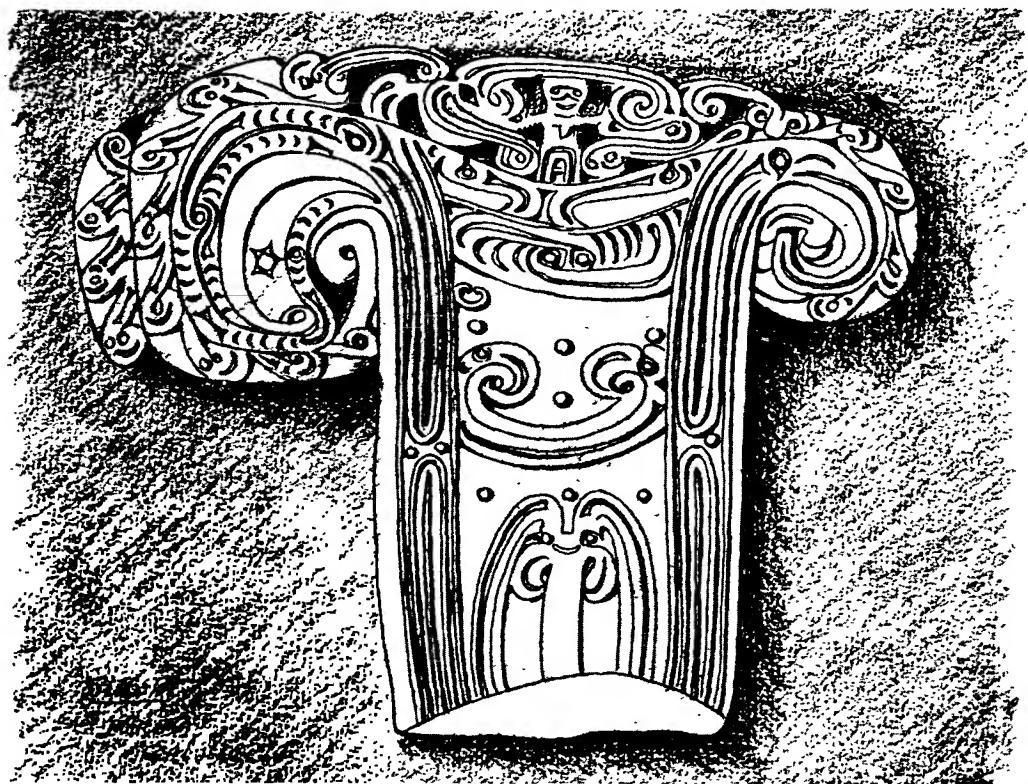


FIG. 1.—MR. WILLIAMS' SPECIMEN FROM MORIMA (FERGUSON ISLAND)

With these preliminary remarks we may pass to the description of Mr. Williams' Morima (Ferguson Island) specimen (Fig. 1).

*Rajim.* In the middle of the upper register there is a small figure called *wama'ea*, 'baby'; below this the whole of the main centre part of the *rajim* is equated with the human body (cf. this with No. 131.473 in the Hungarian Museum, in which the human figure in low relief occupying this central area is that of the hero *Matakapotaiataia*). The very obvious bird derivatives at the sides of the 'baby' are called *ha'ia*, for which Mr. Williams gives no significance. Immediately below this, the first complex of curved lines, right and left, are *lumataga*, 'collar bones'; and immediately underneath this *lumatuki*, 'chest' (or 'beat the chest'). The plain surface below *lumatuki*, including the small circular spots, which Mr. Williams does not mention, is unnamed; while below this again the whole elaborate curved design is *lo-muau*, 'nose 'pencil.' The complicated design at the bottom is called *pesapesa* (belly?). The elongated strap-like patterns on each side of the *pesapesa* are called *ulele*, to which no meaning is attached in Mr. Williams' sketch, but which signifies 'rainbow,' while the two side volutes are called *e-sarima* and *e-awata*, left and right sides respectively. The row of predominantly short curved lines on the left volute immediately

within a line of the bird-head derivatives was called *yadila*, to which Mr. Williams again attached no meaning.

Before describing Dr. Rohéim's series of Good-enough *rajim* we may refer to published illustrations showing the ornament *in situ*. These may be seen in *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux*,<sup>2</sup> by Jenness and Ballantyne, facing p. 18. The upper of the two canoes figured here represents a type of craft which, we believe, would be manned habitually by children, so small that although there is a washstrake there is no *taubya*. This illustration appears on a slightly larger scale in *The Canoes of Oceania*,<sup>3</sup> by Haddon and Hornell, Vol. 11, p. 273, where the detail is clearer and the similarity to Mr. Williams' specimen more notable. Two other illustrations, facing p. 186 in *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux*, are also of interest, since they show typical specimens of *rajim* and *tabuya* painted and decked out with cowrie shells as before an important voyage.

Dr. Rohéim's series of *rajim* consists of four specimens presented by him to the Ethnographical Museum of Budapest and one in his own possession. We are fortunate in having photographs of all five,

<sup>2</sup> Oxford, 1920.

<sup>3</sup> Honolulu Museum Special Publication No. 28.

together with his notes. A glance at this series shows the strong general similarity of the specimens in what may perhaps be called their basic characters. In all the outline of the *rajim* is symmetrical (or nearly so), with bold and symmetrical (or nearly symmetrical) volutes, although the carving of these is generally not bilaterally symmetrical in the strictest sense. All five have the central figure, or, occupying its position, the more or less rectangular uncarved isolated area already referred to, which clearly represents it morphologically and may be regarded as derived from it. Three of the *rajim* present a feature that so far as we are aware is not found in carvings from other parts of the Massim area and that we do not recollect having seen in museum specimens or illustrations in works dealing with this area. This peculiarity is the attachment to the free edge of the left volute of a relatively small, almost circular projection, the junction of the volute edge and the adherent device presenting a slight constriction. We may perhaps speak of this as the lateral lobe, noting here that the design it bears though related to that of the left volute is not identical with it. We should also note that in one instance (Hungarian Museum, No. 131.769) the lateral lobe is sub-triangular in shape, with a rounded base joined by its blunted point to the volute and devoid of any carving.

It is not possible to present a single scheme for the decoration of the D'Entrecasteaux *rajim*, though there is a general similarity which, as far as our limited experience goes, makes it easy to pick out such examples as Dr. Rohéim's and those figured by Jenness from specimens made in other parts of the Massim area. This does not depend on the presence of the human figure or of the plain wooden rectangle which sometimes replaces it, but is due to a combination of different features, especially on symmetry of outline (sometimes modified by the extra lateral lobe, itself characteristic) and a decoration on the whole more simple than in the asymmetrically lobed type of the Woodlarks, etc., or the elaborately carved and exaggeratedly unilateral form of the Louisades. To these might be added a tendency to asymmetry in the carving of the outer panels of the decoration of the body of the *rajim*, and above all an absence of obvious bird and snake designs or derivatives of these.

We may now give an account of the significance of the carving on a number of specimens.

Fig. 2, Dr. Rohéim's specimen. In the middle above is a degenerate representation of a new-born child. The two dark intaglio areas resemble in shape the wings of a bird folded to the body, and the white carving immediately above them represents breasts, or perhaps the tattooing on the breasts. The scroll designs directly below these are *budibudi*, 'clouds at daybreak.' The crescentic design with intturned tops and a central white dot was called *meta-*

*poupouiens*, 'its eye, egg' (*meta*, eye: *pou*, egg), equivalent perhaps to our 'apple of the eye' in the sense of importance but hardly in the sense of endearment. If this be regarded as too fanciful, 'pupil of the eye' might stand as a dry literal translation, but hardly carries, we think, the significance of the native word.

This specimen was made by an expert carver in Bwebwaija village of Loboda district, Normandy Island.

Fig. 3, No. 131.473 (Ethnographical Museum, Budapest). In this specimen, with two human figures one above the other, the upper is called *Matakapotaiataia*, the lower *Guama-meja*, 'new-born baby.' The carving on both sides of the former is *ru-mataga*, i.e. 'tattoo on breasts,' while that on both sides of the latter, continued into the volutes, represents the rainbow. It is not quite clear from Dr. Rohéim's notes whether 'rainbow' refers to the outer non-incised portion of the *rajim* (presumably coloured red in the original) or to the inner two longitudinal areas with decoration, but the latter seems unlikely. The uncarved rainbow line continues into the volute, where two uncarved crescents are called *dibituitui*, 'sting ray.' The lateral projection is painted red: the inner portion represents two extra eyes of *Matakapotaiataia*, while the outer two uncarved crescents were called *bwaruada*, 'newt,' though *bwaruada* may apparently be a place name.

*Matakapotaiataia* is one of those interesting and widely spread New Guinea heroes who is born of a woman left behind when pregnant by her people as they flee from their country in fear of a cannibal monster, often a man-eating pig. Dr. Rohéim has published the story of *Matakapotaiataia*, of which the following portion seems of special interest as referring to his extra pair of eyes which enter into the decorative motifs on the *rajim*:

'*Matakapotaiataia*'s village was Kopoa-kaposi (Bubbling water) and his mother was called 'Kakasiro (Breadfruit). The people of this village 'were being killed by Tokedukeketai (Cannibal) 'and Bawegaragara (Grunting Pig), so that they 'were afraid and all ran away except one woman 'who was pregnant; she had had intercourse with 'many men. She hid in a hole and gave birth to '*Matakapotaiataia* (Eyes springing out), so named 'because he had four eyes, two in front and two 'behind. He grew up and said to his mother: ' "Where are all the people?" She told him they 'had run away and he asked her where was their 'enemy. "Down below Mount Tojaj," she said. ' "But what will you do, he is a very great man?" '*Matakapotaiataia* cut many spears and hardened 'them in the smoke. He went to Mount Tojaj and 'found Tokedukeketai in his garden, but his grand-

children were in the village. The youth hid in the bush behind the village and painted himself black. When he came out, lightning, thunder, and rain heralded his approach. (All supernatural beings—*nigo-nigogo*—and even distinguished mortals are announced by similar signs—*aniana*.) The children in the village cried out: "What manner of man is this? He has two eyes in his face and two at the back!" He asked the children to tell their grandfather that he would come back in three days. Meanwhile he hid the spears at different places, one at a time. One he hid at Gujadaru, others at Soisoija, Majaru, Qanaura, Tausipwa, and Datuna, but he took one with him. Then he met Tokedukeketai and threw the spear at him, but it broke off in his body. *Matakapotaiataia* ran away past all the places where he had hidden spears, and at each he stopped to throw one. At last he came to Gujadaru where the last spear was hidden, and with this he finally succeeded in killing Tokedukeketai. Then came the two brothers of *Matakapotaiataia*, the eagle scratched out the eyes of the giant, and the dog bit off his testicles. *Matakapotaiataia* ordered the dog to drag the body back into their village. They did this and cut off the giant's long hair; but they ate his body.<sup>4</sup>

*Matakapotaiataia* then kills Bawe garagara and by his magic power turns to stone most of his people who ran away and left his mother to her fate. In this episode no mention is made of the hero's hyperanthropy, his extra eyes, but in his next struggle with a gigantic cephalopod, the black fluid which gushes from the creature's spear wounds 'spreads slowly over the sky and smote his two back eyes as it came.' His life-token palm withers, and he and his mother found a place where they rest at the bottom of the sea:

Thus *Matakapotaiataia* lived from then on not far from Bwaruada at the bottom of the sea, and when

it rains he comes out and is happy. At such times the wood swims about in the sea (*i.e.* tree trunks and branches are carried out to sea) and he spears it. His mother also was turned into a stone near Bwaruada, which rises out of the sea at low tide.<sup>5</sup>

With regard to this specimen (No. 131.473), if we accept the account of the meaning of the carving on the other four specimens of this series it seems obvious that there has been confusion between the 'baby' and *Matakapotaiataia*. The upper figure is clearly the 'baby,' and the lower the hero, with his extra eyes free on the intaglio backgrounds on each side of his body. Confusion such as is here indicated might easily result from fatigue or lack of interest, which experience shows arises easily in Papuasians.

Fig. 4. No. 131.468 (Ethnographical Museum, Budapest). In general appearance this resembles No. 131.473. The human figure in the middle of the top field is again a new-born child, and the design on each side represent the breasts, or tattoo on breasts. The uncarved lightly coloured (white) vertical column supporting the child is the body of *Matakapotaiataia*. The circular prominences on the dark uncarved field at each side are his eyes. On each side of this area is 'rainbow,' while the carving on the volute and on the lateral lobe represents his extra eyes.

Fig. 5. No. 131.469. In essentials this resembles the last, though the reduction of space allotted to the rectangle representing the child and the greater space representing breasts at first sight hide the essential similarity. *Matakapotaiataia* is represented in somewhat schematic fashion, as in No. 131.468, and the carved and uncarved panels, one each side, ascending into the volutes, represent the rainbow. These continue into the volutes. On the right, the carving of the volute is called 'sting ray'; on the left, the more or less diamond-shaped projection from the volute is called 'eagle claws.'

Fig. 6. To our eyes No. 131.475 (Ethnographical Museum, Budapest) presents a very obvious modification of the design on the three other specimens, though to the native carver the design is the same. The specimen is particularly interesting on account of the extreme degeneration of the representation of *Matakapotaiataia*: indeed, there is very considerable simplification of the whole central third of this specimen.

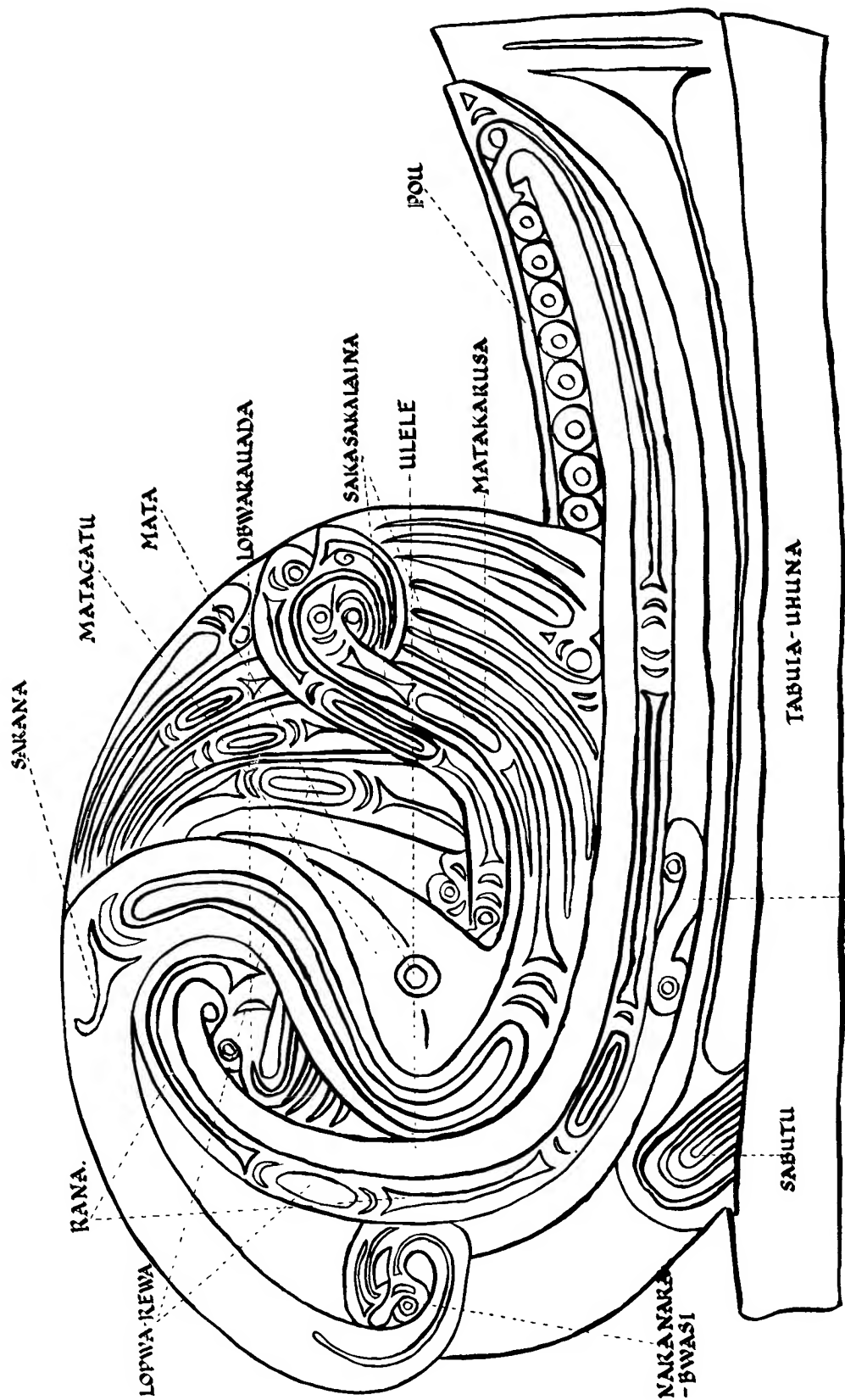
Above there is an unornamented oblong, representing 'the new-born child'; the designs on both sides of this are 'breasts.' Below these elements comes the usual transverse design, with a single element of 'lines that repay,' which may perhaps represent *budibudi*, 'clouds at daybreak,' though Dr. Rohéim does not say so.

<sup>4</sup> *The Rabble of the Sphinx, or Human Origins*, by Géza Róheim, 1934, pp. 179-80.

By hyperanthropy is meant the symbolic expression of powers beyond those of common man by the attribution to the hero or god of extra parts or organs, single or bilateral in ordinary mankind. The many-armed or multiple-headed representations of the gods of Hinduism afford the readiest example of hyperanthropy. It is generally held that these are not of early date, beginning several centuries after our era. In Europe, figures having four eyes in one head, or four arms (or sometimes only forearms), several centuries earlier, have been figured by Raffaele Pettazzoni (*Religione Primitiva in Sardegna*, Piacenza, 1912), who appears to have been the originator of the term hyperanthropy.

Hyperanthropy (which must be distinguished from hyper trophy of a single organ, *e.g.* the penis) is, we believe, unrecorded elsewhere in New Guinea at the present time, nor can we recall any carved objects from Melanesia showing extra heads or limbs, so that it would seem to be rare over a wide area of the Pacific, including that with which we are immediately concerned.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 181.



KURAKURIA

FIG. 7.—'TABUYA' FROM DUAC, NORMANDY ISLAND; DESCRIBED BY MR. WILLIAMS

Beneath this the T-shaped dark intaglio area, with a single central incised line bifurcating into two curved lines above, is all that remains of *Matakapotaitaia*, which no longer shows any resemblance to a human figure. The rest of the carving again includes 'rainbow,' with the volutes respectively called *walaropa*, 'octopus' (left), and *kikisa mime*, 'eagle claws' (right).

Fig. 7. We also have an account by Mr. Williams of a *tabuya* from Duau, Normandy Island. This is of the 'fishhawk-claw' pattern, though there is no evidence that this significance was attached to any part of it at Duau. The obvious bird design at the top of the 'claw' was called *naranara-bwasi*, described as a sea bird resembling a duck. Here again, although there are many obvious bird-head derivatives, none of the patterns were 'bird' from the point of view of Mr. Williams' informant, in this case an expert named Taudinoia, the *tabuya* being carved by his pupil Sipeai.

The forward curve of the body of the carving bears two designs, forming a small alternating series called respectively *lopwarewa*, 'the cocoon of a butterfly,' and *rana*, 'leaf.' Interior to this is a long intaglio area called *ulele*, 'rainbow.' The significance of the rest of the complicated designs on this *tabuya* will be best appreciated by examining the drawing made from Mr. Williams' sketch and identifying the motifs by means of the following table, though it may be apposite to emphasize the ultra-conventional significance of some of the devices, particular arrangements of lines being called by the names of objects to which they bear no obvious resemblance :

mata .. ..	eye.
matagatu ..	black paint over eye, for decoration.
sakasakaiaina ..	scorpion (no mention of the 'bird's head').
sarana .. ..	teeth (this looks more like a scorpion).
lobwarauada ..	a fish ('showing eye and mouth').
matakarusa ..	swirling water (?).
rana .. ..	leaf.
sabutu .. ..	stone axe-head.
kurakuria ..	porpoise bone.
pou .. ..	eggs
tabuia-uhuna ..	base of the <i>tabuia</i> .

It is, however, easy to understand that a central circular design isolated in an area of black intaglio should be called *mata*, 'eye,' and the black area itself be regarded as black paint decorating the eye. Having stated that the obvious bird-head design behind the upper portion of the *ulele* (rainbow) is *lobwarauada*, 'a fish,' and that the carving shows its eye and mouth, we think it hardly possible to see the vertical slightly crescentric design (*a*) as the fish's mouth, the obvious bird's eye as the eye of the fish, while the serial concave designs behind this might be considered to represent a conception of operculum and gills, though Mr. Williams' informant did not suggest this. No European will, we suppose, see any resemblance to a scorpion in the portions of designs entitled *saka-sakaiaina*, and while it may be possible to understand why the elongated designs rather like attenuated boomerangs should be called 'swirling water' (it appears that Mr. Williams' informant was not too certain), it seems impossible to understand why *sabutu* should be considered to represent a 'stone axe-head,' or *sarana*, 'teeth.' Actually the latter does perhaps faintly recall the teeth of some sharks, though comparison (if this be legitimate) with designs on Trobriand house-boards (*kaivalapu*) suggests that it originally represented a much conventionalized fish.

To sum up : The carving on the four *rajim* collected by Dr. Rohéim includes a representation of *Matakapotaitaia* as an important part of the design. But even in this small series the hero may be represented by an obvious human figure or by a pattern which in no way suggests an anthropoid origin, as in Fig. 7.

Another line of degeneration and evolution of design appears, however, to exist. It will be remembered that in Mr. Williams' *rajim* from Morima (Ferguson Island) the central part presents an intaglio surface with a number of designs in high relief, which are identified as parts of the body and once as a body ornament (nose-stick). It may perhaps be inferred that some lingering memory of the human figure persists, and that a new series of conventional non-realistic patterns having been evolved or adopted—perhaps more probably the latter—the new designs were equated with the parts of a vaguely memorized body, although there is no visible likeness to an anthropoid pattern in either the intaglio or the carvings it carries.

**LES RECHERCHES ETHNOGRAPHIQUES EN BELGIQUE ET AU CONGO BELGE :** *A communication by Professor E. De Jonghe. Louvain, to the Royal Anthropological Institute : 11 April, 1946*

**113** Monsieur le Président, Mesdames, Messieurs, avant d'aborder l'objet propre de cette petite causerie, je croirais manquer à un devoir élémentaire de convenance, si je n'adressais pas au *Royal Anthropological Institute* mes remerciements

les plus vifs pour l'insigne honneur qu'il m'a fait en me promouvant *Honorary Fellow* de l'Institut.

Lorsqu'en janvier 1940 je reçus la notification de cette distinction, j'éprouvai un sentiment de fierté de me savoir officiellement classé parmi les amis de

votre Grand Empire, et je compris en même temps que ce titre honorifique devait me servir de cuirasse contre toute faiblesse et toute compromission entre les futurs envahisseurs et oppresseurs de ma Patrie.

Autant de raisons de vous dire du fond du coeur : Merci !

En septembre 1944, quand vos vaillantes armées, dans un élan irrésistible, libérèrent le sol de la Belgique, les Nazis venaient de m'emmener en captivité en Allemagne, et je n'eus donc pas le plaisir alors d'unir ma voix aux ovations délirantes par lesquelles mes compatriotes en foules ont accueilli vos soldats victorieux.

J'ai pensé qu'il doit m'être permis aujourd'hui, à l'occasion de mon premier voyage en Angleterre depuis 1939, de joindre aux remerciements personnels que je viens d'adresser au *Royal Anthropological Institute* l'expression de mon admiration, pleine de gratitude envers votre magnifique Nation et envers nos grands alliés, auxquels la Belgique est redevable de la liberté retrouvée.

L'exposé que je me propose de vous soumettre tend moins à vous faire connaître les activités anthropologiques et ethnologiques comme telles dans la Belgique occupée et dans le Congo belge en guerre, que d'exposer les progrès réalisés dans nos connaissances anthropologiques et ethnologiques du Congo pendant la période de guerre.

Je crains qu'il ne vous fatigue par la sécheresse, inhérente à toute liste bibliographique. Je m'efforcerai d'éviter cet écueil.

Je viserai à être aussi complet que possible, et à situer les publications les plus importantes dans leur ordre historique et logique, sans aucune prétention cependant de fournir un travail critique.

Il m'a paru que cet exposé serait rendu plus facile et plus intelligible, s'il était précédé d'un tableau, brossé à larges traits, des conditions particulières dans lesquelles la Belgique et sa colonie se sont trouvées placées au point de vue des études anthropologiques et ethnologiques.

Le fait de l'occupation allemande et les mesures tracassières prises contre de nombreuses personnalités, n'ont pas pu empêcher les universités belges—excepté celle de Bruxelles, qui dut fermer ses portes fin 1941—les académies, les musées et autres établissements ou sociétés scientifiques, de poursuivre leurs activités, bien entendu à un rythme ralenti.

Certaines sociétés, comme la Société d'Anthropologie de Bruxelles, ont suspendu leurs travaux et leurs publications ; de même, un grand nombre de périodiques, comme la revue *Congo* ; d'autres, comme la revue *Kongo-overzee* ont continué de paraître avec une périodicité réduite et intermittente.

La seule préoccupation était d'empêcher les Nazis,

pour qui la science ne compte que dans la mesure où elle sert les intérêts de leur politique, d'exercer leur influence néfaste, ne fût-ce que par la censure.

L'Institut Royal Colonial belge a eu la bonne fortune de pouvoir reprendre ses séances de sections et ses publications en septembre 1940. Cette reprise s'est faite sans prise de contact avec les autorités occupantes, qui, malgré leur intense désir d'intervention, n'ont jamais réussi à y exercer une influence quelconque.

Parmi les chercheurs isolés, la grande majorité se plongèrent dans l'étude de leur spécialité, bien décidés à ne jamais rien publier qui pût servir les intérêts de l'occupant. Les sciences anthropologiques et ethnologiques n'ont eu à déplorer que deux malheureuses défaillances : celle du Professeur Fraipont de l'Université de Liège, et celle du Professeur J. Maes, chef de la section ethnographique du Musée de Tervueren. L'action judiciaire et administrative leur a infligé des peines sévères, mais justes.

La grande misère des recherches d'anthropologie et d'ethnologie coloniales provenait incontestablement de l'isolement complet de la métropole asservie, de la suppression de toute possibilité de communication avec l'extérieur et avec la colonie. On en était réduit à vivre de son passé, de ses documents acquis, de ses notes d'avant-guerre. On a dû se contenter, si je puis ainsi m'exprimer, de vider ses vieux tiroirs.

Cette situation s'aggravait encore du fait de la destruction d'un grand nombre de bibliothèques (notamment celle de l'Université de Louvain) et de collections scientifiques, due à des faits de guerre.

Le Musée de Tervueren n'a souffert que des bombes volantes. Les collections ethnographiques ont été assez gravement endommagées ; mais en ce moment-ci des restaurations habilement exécutées ont réparé les principaux dégâts.

De son côté, le Congo belge est resté indemne et hors de toute atteinte de l'ennemi. Il a pu concentrer tous ses efforts sur la poursuite de la guerre et sur l'obtention d'une paix victorieuse.

Pendant cette période de guerre, il connut un débordement extraordinaire d'activité dans tous les domaines et notamment dans la recherche scientifique appliquée aux populations indigènes.

Des centres de chercheurs se formèrent un peu partout et se groupèrent d'après leurs origines académiques. Bientôt ils eurent leurs publications périodiques plus ou moins régulières. Je m'abstendrai de les énumérer de crainte d'en omettre.

Les plus importants périodiques pour l'anthropologue et l'ethnologue, sont *Aequatoria*, paraissant à Coquilhatville et le *Bulletin des juridictions indigènes d'Elisabethville*.

Après ce préambule, nous pouvons passer en revue les principales études qui ont paru en Belgique et au

Congo pendant la guerre, en matière (1) de pré-histoire, (2) d'anthropologie, (3) de linguistique, (4) d'ethnologie.

## I Préhistoire

En avril 1940 deux communications, la première du P. Lotar et moi-même,<sup>1</sup> la seconde du Colonel Bertrand,<sup>2</sup> avaient attiré l'attention de l'Institut Royal Colonial belge sur un dallage mégalithique près d'Api, qui avait été visité et sommairement décrit par le P. Van den Plas en 1920.

Ces communications fournirent l'occasion à M. van der Kerken de faire un exposé assez complet sur le mésolithique et la néolithique dans le bassin de l'Uele.<sup>3</sup>

Les riches collections de la section préhistorique du Musée de Tervueren furent étudiées systématiquement par M. Becquaert. Celui-ci publia une série de notices dans :

(a) le *Bulletin de la Société Royale belge d'Anthropologie et de Préhistoire* :

Matériel archéologique de l'Ubangi :<sup>4</sup>

Cinq haches de l'Uele :<sup>5</sup>

Haches de l'Ubangi :<sup>6</sup>

Deux Kivés provenant de la Mine de Tschungu-Kafamba.<sup>7</sup>

(b) Dans *Natuurwetenschappelijk Tijdschrift* :

Bydrage tot de Voorgeschiedenis van Ruanda-Urundi.<sup>8</sup>

Jongere Steentijdperkkulturen in Belgisch Congo.<sup>9</sup>

Twee steenen werkingen uit hetbekken van de Wanji.<sup>10</sup>

(c) Dans le *Bulletin* de l'Institut Royal Colonial belge :

Deux instruments en pierre taillée de l'Angumu :<sup>11</sup>

Instruments en pierre taillée du bassin de la Lukenie :<sup>12</sup>

Een steenen punt uit Bokala.<sup>13</sup>

Au Congo même, nous pouvons signaler les études de :-

Cabus, F. : Données sur la préhistoire congolaise au pléistocène :<sup>14</sup>

van Moorsel, H. : Les ateliers préhistoriques de Léopoldville :<sup>15</sup>

Mortelmans, G. : La position présente et les développements futurs à apporter aux recherches d'archéologie préhistorique au Congo belge.<sup>16</sup>

## II Anthropologie

Il faut bien reconnaître que la littérature d'anthropologie proprement dite, j'entends d'anthropologie anatomique et biologique, est assez pauvre au Congo belge.

Les médecins coloniaux ont concentré tous leurs efforts sur la lutte contre la mortalité et les morbidités

endémiques. Leurs publications portent surtout sur l'hygiène et la démographie et il faut avouer qu'elles sont d'un intérêt considérable.

Les pygmées ont le privilège de faire exception à cette règle générale. Ils ont été étudiés de façon spéciale au point de vue anthropologique et au point de vue culturel.

On se rappellera que le P. Schebesta a fait deux voyages d'exploration des pygmées du Congo, dans lesquels il fut assisté par le Docteur Jadin, qui étudia surtout les groupes sanguins, et le Dr. Gusinde.

Les résultats de ces deux voyages d'études tant au point de vue ethnographique qu'anthropologique furent exposés par le P. Schebesta lui-même dans deux volumes des Mémoires de l'Institut Royal Colonial belge, Section des Sciences Morales et Politiques.<sup>17</sup>

L'on sait que l'étude du Dr. Jadin sur *Les groupes sanguins des pygmées* a paru dans les Mémoires de l'Institut Royal Colonial belge en 1935,<sup>18</sup> en même temps que le travail du Dr. Jullien : *Bloedgroep-ouderzoek der Efe-pygmeen en der omwonende Negerstammen*.<sup>19</sup>

En 1940 parut une nouvelle étude de M. Jadin : *Les groupes sanguins des Pygmôïdes et des Nègres de la province équatoriale* (Congo belge).<sup>20</sup>

De son côté, le Dr. Gusinde se décida à publier le résultat de ses recherches, sous le titre *Die Kongo-pygmaen in Geschichte und Gegenwart*<sup>21</sup> et sous le titre *Die Rassenmerkmale der Bambuti-pygmaen*.<sup>22</sup>

Quant aux pygmées du Kivu, ils furent étudiés par le P. Schumacher, qui séjourna au Ruanda comme missionnaire Père Blanc, pendant une trentaine d'années. Il fut chargé de missions d'études par l'Institut International Africain et par les Parcs Nationaux Belges.

Un résumé de ses recherches sur les pygmées du Kivu fut publié par l'Institut des Parcs Nationaux du Congo belge, sous le titre : *Die Kivu-pygmaen und ihre Soziale Umwelt im Albert-Nationalpark*.<sup>23</sup>

Le résultat complet des recherches du P. Schumacher fut présenté par l'Institut des Parcs Nationaux à l'Institut Royal Colonial belge, qui en décida l'impression dans les Mémoires en 40 de la Section des Sciences Morales et Politiques.<sup>24</sup>

Pour des raisons techniques et à cause de la pénurie de papier, la publication de cette volumineuse documentation n'a pas pu avoir lieu à ce jour.

La question des pygmées fut traitée aussi par le Dr. Twisselmann, sous le titre : *Contribution à l'étude anthropologique des pygmées de l'Afrique Occidentale*.<sup>25</sup> Cette étude vise surtout les pygmées du Congo français.

Je crois pouvoir résumer cet exposé en disant que l'étude anthropologique et ethnologique des pygmées du Congo belge a donné lieu dans les dernières années



à une documentation de la plus haute importance, dont M. van der Kerken, dans son *Ethnie Mongo*<sup>26</sup> n'a pas su tenir compte.

### III Linguistique

Au cours de la guerre, la linguistique congolaise s'est enrichie d'un vocabulaire, celui de l'Alur,<sup>27</sup> rédigé par le P. Van Neste.

L'Alur appartient au groupe linguistique improprement appelé 'Nilotique,' et que le P. Crazzolaro désigne par les termes *Ji* et *Jo* qui signifient 'homme,' le pendant du *ntu* des bantous.

Au Congo belge, l'Alur est parlé par environ 140,000 habitants. Il présente des ressemblances très étroites avec l'Acol et le Jo-Luo, et moins étroites avec le Shilluk et le Nuer.

Le vocabulaire Alur est conçu dans un esprit pratique. Il veut faciliter l'étude de la vie des Alurs, et abonde en expressions courantes et en détails ethnographiques.

En 1943, le P. Willems a publié en français et en flamand une grammaire du Tshiluba.<sup>28</sup>

Il a, de plus, en collaboration avec le P. Stappers, rédigé une étude tonologique de Tshiluba, dont l'impression dans les Mémoires de l'Institut Royal Colonial belge a été décidée.

La tonologie du Tshiluba a été mise en lumière par le Prof. Burssens, de l'Université de Gand.

M. Burssens a consacré de nombreuses études à cette question dans *Kongo-oerzee* et dans le *Bulletin* de l'Institut Royal Colonial belge.

Nous nous contenterons de citer :

Wako-moyo, Zuid-oost Kongo :<sup>29</sup>

'Tonologische Tshiluba-tekst' :<sup>30</sup>

'De toonassimilatie in het tshiluba' :<sup>31</sup>

Le Tshiluba se trouve précisément être la langue de grande extension que dans deux études déjà anciennes, j'avais proposé comme langue nationale unique du Congo belge.

Cette question de l'unification des langues et dialectes congolais a été remise en discussion à la Section des Sciences Morales et Politiques de l'I.R.C.B., en 1944.

Ces échanges de vue ont abouti à un tiré à part du *Bulletin* des Séances de l'Institut<sup>32</sup> qui comprend les études suivantes :

J. Tanghe : 'Le Swahili, langue de grande extension' :

Mgr. Cuvelier : 'Note sur la langue Kongo (Kikongo)' :

G. van der Kerken : 'Le Swahili, langue de grande expansion' :

De Jonghe : 'L'unification des langues congolaises' :

Mgr. Cuvelier : 'Du "lingua franca" du Bas Congo' :

V. Gelders : 'La langue commune du Congo.'

La même question fut traitée par Liesenborghs : 'Beschouwingen over wezen, nut en toekomst der

zoog. "Linguae francae" van Belgisch Congo'<sup>33</sup> et, au Congo, par le P. Hulstaert, dans *Aequatoria* : 'A propos de langue unifiée.'<sup>34</sup>

Au point de vue de la méthode, il convient de citer aussi une étude du P. de Boeck, intitulée *Premières applications de la géographie linguistique aux langues bantoues*.<sup>35</sup>

Cet essai d'application à l'étude des langues bantoues d'une méthode bien connue est intéressant. Il n'a cependant pas donné de résultats sensationnels, parce que l'auteur a dû travailler sur des matériaux d'études défectueux, ceux rassemblés par Sir Harry Johnston il y a une trentaine d'années.

### IV Ethnologie

Nous arrivons maintenant aux recherches ethnologiques proprement dites.

Nous parlerons d'abord des ouvrages généraux d'ethnographie congolaise et des ouvrages traitant les divers aspects d'une peuplade : puis nous passerons en revue les études spéciales des phénomènes sociaux, politiques, juridiques, esthétiques, religieux et intellectuels.

Disons d'abord que la bibliographie ethnographique du Congo, publiée annuellement par le Bureau de Documentation ethnographique du Musée de Tervuren n'a pas paru pendant la guerre.

En 1943, M. De Cleene a fait paraître une *Introduction à l'ethnographie du Congo* en flamand et en français.<sup>36</sup> C'est un exposé clair, mais sommaire, de l'état actuel de nos connaissances en matière d'ethnographie congolaise, avec une petite carte, de nombreuses illustrations et d'abondantes bibliographies. L'auteur ne s'attache pas aux questions d'origine des coutumes et des institutions, qu'elles soient dues à l'évolution interne, à l'emprunt ou à la convergence, mais plutôt à leur fonction dans le cadre de l'ensemble de la civilisation indigène, à leurs rapports avec les autres éléments culturels, et à leur adaptabilité aux exigences nouvelles créées par la colonisation.

C'est un excellent petit traité d'ethnographie coloniale du Congo.

'La vie du noir au Congo. Précis ethnographique Congolais' du P. Rinchon<sup>37</sup> se présente avec un caractère de large vulgarisation.

Parmi les monographies, la plus volumineuse est certainement celle de M. van der Kerken, intitulée *L'Ethnie Mongo*. Elle fut annoncée en 1941.<sup>38</sup> Seul le premier volume a paru en 1944.<sup>39</sup> Il ne comporte pas moins de 1141 pages, 64 planches et plusieurs cartes. Il s'occupe de l'histoire, des groupements et sous-groupements et des origines. Il doit être suivi de plusieurs volumes traitant des cosmogonies, de la sociologie, de l'économie, des langues et des arts.

L'auteur a véritablement vidé tous ses tiroirs pour écrire une véritable encyclopédie, sans beaucoup se



soucier de la disposition et de la proportion des matières traitées.

On peut trouver peu heureux l'emploi du néologisme 'ethnie' qui n'apporte à mon avis pas beaucoup de clarté dans la nomenclature des groupements humains. Mais le terme avait été mis à la mode par le Dr. Montandon.

En 1941 parut dans les Mémoires en 8vo de l'I.R.C.B., Section des Sciences Morales et Politiques, une monographie du P. de Beaucorps : *Les Basongo de la Luniungu et de la Gobari*,<sup>40</sup> et, en 1942, une autre du P. Mertens : *Les chefs couronnés des Bakongo orientaux*.<sup>41</sup>

Les auteurs décrivent les principaux aspects de la vie de ces tribus, mais ils s'attachent plus spécialement à l'étude des phénomènes sociaux et politiques : famille, propriété, organisation de l'autorité, insignes et initiation des chefs, rôle de la femme-chef, l'esclavage, le culte des ancêtres, etc.

Ces deux mémoires apportent à la sociologie des peuples du Congo des matériaux de premier ordre.

Je ne puis pas omettre de citer aussi, quoiqu'il n'ait pas paru, un important manuscrit, rédigé en flamand par le P. Denoff et intitulé : 'Aan den rand der Dibeso.' Cette étude sur les populations du Kasai était destinée à paraître dans la 'Bibliothèque Congo', annexe de la revue *Congo*. Au moment de l'invasion de Bruxelles par les Allemands, le manuscrit se trouvait dans une armoire de mon bureau au Ministère des Colonies, Place Royale. Dès les premiers jours, ces locaux furent occupés sans formalités par les services du Gouverneur Général von Falkenhausen. Les bureaux furent vidés de leurs meubles, et les documents qu'ils contenaient furent jetés pêle-mêle dans les caves. Le précieux manuscrit n'a jamais pu être retrouvé.

Puisque j'en suis à des souvenirs personnels, vous voudrez bien me permettre d'évoquer le souvenir d'une conférence sur l'esclavage au Congo, qu'à l'insu de nos gardiens Nazis j'ai faite en janvier 1943 devant mes camarades de captivité à la citadelle de Huy. Inutile de dire que le texte n'en fut pas publié.

Mais il existe un texte d'une conférence à peu près semblable que j'ai faite devant la Société Coloniale estudiantine, Koluç, sous le titre : 'De Slaverij in Kongo.'<sup>42</sup>

C'est un avant-coureur de la publication des résultats de la vaste enquête instituée par l'I.R.C.B. sur les formes de l'esclavage au Congo, et dont le dépouillement s'est heurté à de grandes difficultés pendant la guerre. J'espère que ce dépouillement pourra être achevé dans quelques mois et paraître dans les Mémoires de l'Institut.<sup>43</sup>

La question de l'esclavage fut traitée aussi par M. Dellicour sous le titre 'Une vieille question,'<sup>44</sup> mais sans prétention ethnographique.

D'autres questions sociales furent traitées par M. de Cleene à l'Institut Royal Colonial belge, telles que l'organisation clanique<sup>45</sup> et la polygamie.<sup>46</sup>

Dans le domaine de l'ethnologie juridique les recherches ont donné lieu à une littérature particulièrement importante par son orientation nouvelle.

L'ouvrage le plus général est celui de M. Porsoz, *Éléments de droit coutumier nègre*.<sup>47</sup>

L'auteur érige en système les principes qu'il croit avoir découverts à la racine des coutumes juridiques qui régissent la vie des indigènes.

Son étude relève moins de l'ethnographie qui s'attache à la variété des faits et des coutumes observés, que du Droit qui détermine les règles de l'action.

*Le mariage en droit coutumier*<sup>48</sup> de M. Sohier, de même que l'*Essai de droit coutumier du Ruanda* de M. van Hove<sup>49</sup> se tient plus près des faits ethnographiques. M. Sohier étudie ces faits non pas cependant en ethnographe, mais en juriste, et il cherche à dégager l'esprit de la généralité des usages tels qu'ils ont été révélés par l'ethnographie. Sa synthèse du mariage coutumier est remarquable.

C'est M. Sohier qui a donné la grande impulsion aux recherches de droit coutumier congolais.

Il est le fondateur du *Bulletin des juridictions indigènes d'Elisabethville*, où son influence continue de se faire sentir.

Je laisse aux bibliographies particulières le soin de relever la longue liste des études sur les coutumes juridiques parues dans ce *Bulletin*, ainsi que celle des notices ethnographiques publiées dans *Aequatoria*.

J'arrive maintenant à l'ethnologie esthétique. Dans ce domaine, M. Olbrechts s'est montré un véritable animateur en Belgique. Sous le titre 'Centre pour l'étude de l'art africain à l'Université de Gand'<sup>50</sup>, il a exposé un programme complet d'action pour ces études.

Citons de lui :

'Stijl en Substijl in de plastiek der Baluba; De Kabila-Stijl.'<sup>51</sup>

'De Kabila-beelden van Dr. J. Maes.'<sup>52</sup>

'Bijdrage tot de kennis van de chronologie der Afrikaansche plastiek.'<sup>53</sup>

'Westersche invloed op de inheemsche kunst in Afrika.'<sup>54</sup>

'De integratie der Kunst in de kultuur bij primitieven.'<sup>55</sup>

Pour la sculpture du Bas Congo, citons aussi :

Weyns J. 'Un chef d'oeuvre de la sculpture africaine provenant des bantous occidentaux.'<sup>56</sup>

Weyns J. 'Drie merkwaardige schepters uit Neder-Kongo.'<sup>57</sup>

Je cueille au hasard quelques autres petites contributions à l'étude des arts indigènes dans la revue *Brousse* qui a paru au Congo en 1940 :

E. Boelaert. 'Exposition d'art nkundo à Coquilhatville.' fasc. 4, pp. 4-9.

J. de Middeleer. 'La musique indigène et son adaptation au culte religieux.' 3, pp. 9-13.

Evrard. 'Sur les xylophones africains.' 2, pp. 15-21.

H. Himmelheber. 'Arts et artistes Bakuba.' 1, pp. 17-30.

P. Pagés. 'Des joueurs de flûte et de cithare.' 3, pp. 6-8.

A. Sebakiga. 'La musique indigène et son adaptation au culte religieux.' 1, pp. 13-16.

Pour l'ethnologie religieuse, je vous étonnerai peut-être par ma brièveté, qui cadre mal avec l'importance de la matière.

Je ne citerai qu'un exposé systématique substantiel, mais trop bref, du P. van Reeth des croyances et pratiques religieuses et magiques des noirs du Congo<sup>58</sup> et une note du P. van Caeneghem sur les prières adressées à la divinité par les Baluba.<sup>59</sup>

Mais j'ajouterais aussitôt que l'on peut trouver des exposés plus ou moins détaillés dans la plupart des études générales et spéciales d'ethnographie congolaise que j'ai énumérées et même dans quelques-unes que je m'excuse de n'avoir pas citées, malgré leur mérite, simplement parce qu'elles étaient difficiles à classer dans le cadre limité que je me suis tracé.

Je vise notamment l'étude du Prof. Smets : 'Funérailles et Sépultures des Bami (Sultans) et des Baga-bekazi (reines-mères) de l'Urundi'<sup>60</sup>; et celle du P. Schumacher : 'Contribution au calendrier agricole indigène du Ruanda.'<sup>61</sup>

Il me reste à dire deux mots des synthèses ou plutôt des hypothèses qui ont été émises en vue d'une meilleure interprétation de la mentalité dite primitive.

Les ethnologues n'ont pas perdu le souvenir des thèses brillamment proposées et habilement défendues par le philosophe français Lévy-Brühl. Ces thèses qui se résument dans la mentalité prélogique d'abord et dans la mentalité mystique ou magique ensuite, et dont la réfutation a suscité une littérature entièrement intéressante—il suffira de rappeler les travaux d'Allier, d'O. Leroy et de Radin—continuent à conditionner les jugements de beaucoup de philosophes sur la psychologie des soi-disant primitifs, et sur les travaux des ethnologues qui s'y rapportent.

Cette question fut abordée de façon très prudente par le Prof. de Cleene à l'Institut Royal Colonial belge, sous le titre : Vers une meilleure compréhension de la "mentalité primitive."<sup>62</sup>

M. de Cleene part d'un essai du philosophe J. Maritain intitulé 'Signe et symbole' qui distingue le signe logique du signe magique.

Le premier, qui prédomine dans nos cultures évoluées, est placé dans un certain état fonctionnel, où il est signe pour l'intelligence (spéculative ou

pratique) prise comme dominante du régime psychique ou du régime de culture.

Le second, le signe magique, est placé dans un autre état fonctionnel, où il est signe pour l'imagination prise comme régulatrice suprême ou dominante de toute la vie psychique ou de toute la vie de culture.

Il n'y a donc pas entre le signe logique et le signe magique, entre l'intelligence du noir et la nôtre, une différence de nature, mais une différence d'état, de fonction. Il est important de noter que Lévy-Brühl lui-même s'est rallié à cette interprétation dans une lettre du 8 mai 1938.

Le Prof. de Cleene ne prétend pas que cette distinction élucide toute la complexité du problème, mais il pense à juste titre qu'elle conduit à une meilleure compréhension de la mentalité primitive.

Tout autre est l'attitude du P. Tempels, auteur d'un livre intitulé *La philosophie bantoue*.<sup>63</sup>

Ce titre ne manquera pas de surprendre les ethnologues les plus avertis.

Les Bantous posséderaient-ils une philosophie commune qui leur serait propre, et que le P. Tempels aurait entendue exposer par quelques vieillards Baluba ?

Ce n'est pas de cette façon que la question doit être posée. Cette philosophie bantoue n'est qu'une hypothèse que l'auteur a construite après avoir rapproché les langages, les comportements, les institutions et les coutumes des Bantous; il les a analysés et en a dégagé les idées fondamentales à partir desquelles il a reconstruit lui-même un système de la pensée bantoue.

Ce système repose sur une ontologie qui diffère de celle d'Aristote par son caractère dynamique.

Au lieu de concevoir la notion transcendente 'être' en la dégageant, comme nous, de l'attribut de sa force, le Bantou considère le concept 'force' comme inséparable de la définition de l'être.

L'être est ce qui a la force, qui possède la force. La force c'est l'être, l'être est la force.

Sur cette notion fondamentale, l'auteur a construit une ontologie, une critériologie, une psychologie, une éthique et une justice bantoues.

Le temps et la compétence me manquent pour suivre tous ces développements et vérifier si ces théories expliquent les constatations ethnographiques chez les différentes peuplades bantoues.

Plusieurs chercheurs auraient déjà tenté de procéder à de telles vérifications, et les réactions spontanées des auditeurs indigènes auraient confirmé l'exactitude des hypothèses.

Mais n'y a-t-il pas là un certain danger pour les méthodes ethnographiques ? L'expérience des enquêtes prouve que l'on trouve toujours facilement ce qu'on cherche.

Sous cette réserve, je suis persuadé que l'étude ingénieuse du P. Tempels ouvrira des voies nouvelles aux recherches ethnographiques.

En résumé, je suis convaincu—and je serais heureux si j'avais réussi à vous faire partager ma conviction—que les Belges, aussi bien ceux qui ont travaillé en Belgique occupée, que ceux qui ont servi la bonne cause dans la colonie, ont fait ce qu'ils ont pu pour le progrès des sciences anthropologiques et ethnologiques.

- <sup>1</sup> Institut Royal Colonial belge, *Bulletin des Séances*, 1940.
- <sup>2</sup> *Bulletin des Séances*, 1940.
- <sup>3</sup> Section des Sciences Morales et Politiques, *Mémoires*, 8<sup>o</sup>. Tom. X (1942), fasc. 4, 118 pp.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1938, pp. 33–42.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1938, pp. 87–96.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1940, pp. 110–113.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 1940, pp. 114–115.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1942, pp. 177–185.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 1942, pp. 9–19.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 1942, pp. 150–152.
- <sup>11</sup> *Bulletin des Séances*, 1943, pp. 586–595.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 1943, pp. 596–606.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 1945, pp. 348–360.
- <sup>14</sup> *Bulletin de l'Association des anciens étudiants de l'Université de Liège*, No. 2, décembre 1944.
- <sup>15</sup> *Belgique d'Outremer*, No. de mai 1944, cf. *Aequatoria*, 1945, fasc. 4 (en flamand).
- <sup>16</sup> *Association des Ingénieurs de Mons, Elisabethville*, 1945, No. 9.
- <sup>17</sup> Mems. en 4<sup>o</sup>, 1938, B. I, *Geschichte, Geographische Umwelt, Demographie und Anthropologie*, 1941, B. II, *Die Jambuti-pygmaen vom Ituri Ethnographie der Ituri-Pygmaen*.
- <sup>18</sup> Section des Sciences Naturelles et Médicales, en 8vo, T. IV, fasc. 1, 1935.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, T. IV, fasc. 2, 1935.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, X, fasc. 2, 42 pp. Voir rapport par De Jonghe, *Bulletin des Séances*, XI (1940), 142–146.
- <sup>21</sup> Halle (Saale), 1942.
- <sup>22</sup> Dans *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, 1940, pp. 69–78.
- <sup>23</sup> *Exploratie van het Nationaal Albert Park*. Zending P. Schumacher (1933–1936), Afl. 1, 152 bl., 24 Platen. Brussel, 1943.
- <sup>24</sup> Voir *Bulletin des Séances*, XII (1941), p. 262 et p. 462.
- <sup>25</sup> *Mémoires du Musée Royal d'Histoire Naturelle de Belgique*, 2<sup>e</sup>me série, fasc. 27, 1942 (distribué le 31 décembre 1942).
- <sup>26</sup> *Mémoires de l'I.R.C.B.*, Section des Sciences Morales et Politiques, en 8vo, T. XIII, Vol. I, p. 384 ss. et pp. 965 ss.
- <sup>27</sup> *Woorlenboek van de Alur-tael*, Mahagi. Polygraphische à Boechout (Anvers) en 1940.
- <sup>28</sup> *Le Tshiluba du Kasayi pour débutants*. Tongerlo, Imprimerie St. Norbert, 223 pp.
- <sup>29</sup> Antwerpen. *De Nikkel*, 1943, 127 pp.
- <sup>30</sup> *Kongo-Overzee*, VII–VIII, 1–3 (1942), pp. 100–107.
- <sup>31</sup> *Bulletin de l'I.R.C.B.*, XII (1941), pp. 29–43.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, XV (1944), fasc. 2.
- <sup>33</sup> *Kongo-Overzee*, VII–VIII (1942), pp. 87–99.
- <sup>34</sup> *Aequatoria*, VI (1943), fasc. 2, pp. 37–41. Cf. 'Over taaleenmaking', VI, fasc. 1, p. 13.
- <sup>35</sup> I.R.C.B., Section des Sciences Morales et Politiques, *Mémoires* en 8vo, VIII (1942), 220 pp.
- <sup>36</sup> Anvers, *Editions Zaire*, 1944, 155 pp. *Inleiding tot de congolesche Volkenkunde*. *Ibid.*, 1943, 159 bl.
- <sup>37</sup> Bruxelles. *Editions Atlas*, 1941, 133 pp.
- <sup>38</sup> I.R.C.B., *Bulletin des Séances*, XII, pp. 289–291.
- <sup>39</sup> I.R.C.B., Section des Sciences Morales et Politiques, T. XIII, fasc. 1 et 2.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, T. X, fasc. 3.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, T. XI, fasc. 1.
- <sup>42</sup> *Jaarboek van het Koloniaal Centrum Leuven*, 1942, pp. 23–35.
- <sup>43</sup> *Bulletin des Séances*, XII (1941), pp. 6–7.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, XII (1941), pp. 8–26.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII (1942), pp. 16–21. Voir aussi *ibid.*, XVI (1945).
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII (1942), pp. 126–169.
- <sup>47</sup> Elisabethville, 1942, 227 pp.
- <sup>48</sup> I.R.C.B., Section des Sciences Morales et Politiques, *Mémoires* en 8vo, XI (1943), fasc. 3, 248 pp.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, LX (1940), fasc. 1, 125 pp.
- <sup>50</sup> I.R.C.B., *Bulletin des Séances* (1941), pp. 257–259.
- <sup>51</sup> *Wetenschappelijke Tydingen*, V (1940), fasc. 1, pp. 22–30.
- <sup>52</sup> *Kongo-Overzee*, VI (1940), pp. 38–48.
- <sup>53</sup> I.R.C.B., Section des Sciences Morales et Politiques, *Mémoires* en 8vo, X (1941), fasc. 2, 36 pp.
- <sup>54</sup> Bruxelles, 1942, 24 pp.
- <sup>55</sup> *Deutscher Bijdagen Kunstgeschiedenis*, IX (1943), 169–209.
- <sup>56</sup> *Bull. des Musées Roy. d'Art et d'Histoire* (1944), pp. 71–82.
- <sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 1943, pp. 44–48.
- <sup>58</sup> *Bulletin des Missions de Schaert*, 1942, pp. 57–60 et 75–79.
- <sup>59</sup> 'Godsgebeden bij de Baluba,' dans *Aequatoria*, VII (1944), pp. 28–34.
- <sup>60</sup> I.R.C.B., *Bulletin des Séances*, XII (1941), pp. 210, 234.
- <sup>61</sup> *Bulletin agricole du Congo belge*, XXXIII (1942), pp. 500–509.
- <sup>62</sup> *Bulletin des Séances*, XI (1940), pp. 324–334.
- <sup>63</sup> 'Bantu-philosophie,' dans *Band*, 1945, No. 2, pp. 60–78; No. 3, pp. 93–102; No. 7, pp. 267–274; No. 11, pp. 413 ss. Traduit en français par A. Rubbens et publié sous le titre: *La philosophie bantoue dans la collection Loranía*, Elisabethville, 1945.

**MYTHICAL ORIGIN OF CATTLE IN AFRICA.** By M. D. W. Jeffreys, M.A., Ph.D., University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

**114** There is no conclusive evidence as yet to show where the domestication of animals, including the dog, took place. The earliest agricultural societies had domesticated animals. Indeed it is interesting to note that the early food-producers, when emerging into history, not only already possessed an empirical knowledge of agriculture and the domestication of animals, but had woven them around with a tangle of magical and religious theories that is not yet entirely unravelled. But there is a general agreement that this momentous step took

place in the Ancient East, the region of the most ancient civilization known to us.<sup>1</sup>

With the various religious and magical rites and tabus that attach to cattle in various parts of Africa I am not concerned in this paper. What has intrigued me is that in three areas the mythical origin of cattle is the same, namely that they came out of the water, straight into man's hands. There is no indication that the domestication of these cattle was a slow and

<sup>1</sup> Perry, W. J., *The Primordial Ocean*, London, 1935, p. 68.

gradual process. So far as I have been able to discover these are the only traditions on the origin of cattle in Africa. In view of 'the general agreement' that cattle entered Africa from Asia, one would expect that the traditional origin among African pastoralists would be somewhat different.

*The Fulani Story.*—Mohamet sent six disciples to convert the West of Africa to Islam. One of these was Yakuba of whom Mohamet prophesied that he would be the founder of the Fulfulde-speaking peoples. Yakuba went to Melle, where he married the king's daughter, Bajemongo. By her he had two legitimate children, and two illegitimate whose father was unknown. These four children did not speak Arabic, the language of their father, nor Melle, the language of their mother, but a tongue of their own—Fulfulde. One day Yakuba sent Bajemongo with her two illegitimate children to the local river with a Koranic talisman tied to her neck, saying that she would there see her seducer.

She went, and a man rose out of the water. Bajemongo said to him, 'Here, take your two children,' and leaving them with him, went away.

The man spoke to the two children saying that he would give them something which he called *Nai* (cows) but of which they then had no idea. He told the children that with this gift they could never return to a town life but would always have to live in the bush, wandering about with the *Nai*. He told them that the *Nai* would come out of the river and follow them: that they must walk away from the river calling out 'Hi, Hi, Hi,' whereupon the *Nai* would follow them. He further told them that they must not turn round and look back, because if they did the *Nai* would stop coming out of the river.

The children obeyed him, but after a time they looked back, and the river which had become a river of cows became again a river of water, and that is why the *Jafen* (their own name for themselves—the 'cow-Fulani' of the European) do not have as many cows as they might have had.

The above story was narrated to me by Mallam Mohammadu of the Wallarbe family, born at Ngaundere, French Cameroons.

*The Nandi Story.*—'Cattle, goats, and sheep are said to have come out of a great lake. There lived

'in olden days a person of importance who on one occasion went to the lake and struck the water eight times with a long stick. Cattle, goats, and sheep issued from the water in large numbers, and everybody was able to take away as many as he required and put them in cattle kraals.' <sup>2</sup>

*The Shilluk Story.*—One of the groups of people whom Nyankang found in the land were the fishermen, or river men with the power of turning into fish, while the mysterious cows whose dung provided 'the "ashes of denying" had their original home in the river.' <sup>3</sup>

With the origin of the domestication of cattle uncertain, one may legitimately suggest that these three traditional African accounts of the origin of cattle refer to the domestication of an animal, the equivalent of the water-buffalo of India, a wild animal now in process of subjugation. Support for this suggestion comes from a paper, 'A Study of Native African Cattle': 'In short, it is believed that the first cattle to be domesticated in Africa were the "giant horned, wild oxen of the Nile valley," called by Helzheimer, *Bos primigenius*, *Hahnii*. *Nova sub-species Helzheimer*. Then, at the end of the Neolithic era, there entered Lower Egypt from Asia . . . cattle of an entirely different type, namely the *Bos brachyceros* or 'Shorthorn.' <sup>4</sup>

However, further information may show that there is no basis in fact for this suggestion and that the origin of this tradition must be ascribed to part of a ritual as Lord Raglan has so convincingly shown: 'The position which we have now reached is that the folk-tale is never of popular origin, but is merely one form of the traditional narrative; that the traditional narrative has no basis either in history or in philosophical speculation, but is derived from the myth: and that the myth is a narrative connected with a rite.' <sup>5</sup>

I would therefore much appreciate any other references to stories of the origin of cattle in Africa.

<sup>2</sup> Hollis, A. C., *The Nandi*, Oxford, 1909, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Seligman, C. G. and B. Z., *The Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, London, 1931, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> Curson, H. H., and Thomson, R. W., 'A contribution to the study of Native African Cattle,' *Onderspoort Journal of Veterinary Service and Animal Industry*, Vol. 7, no. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Raglan, Lord, *The Hero*, London, 1936, p. 145.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE : PROCEEDINGS

The Place of Anthropology and Ethnology in Turkish Universities, and works and studies carried on in that field. Summary of a Communication by Prof. Şevket Aziz Kansu, 18 April, 1946

The first Institute of Anthropology in Turkey was founded in 1925, in the Faculty of Medicine of Istanbul

University; it moved to the Istanbul Faculty of Sciences in 1933. When in 1935 a Faculty of Languages, History, and Geography was started in Ankara, the Institute found its permanent home within this Faculty. The Turkish Institute of Anthropology of Ankara is the centre of anthropological researches in Turkey; more-

over, as it formed a unit among the several departments of the University, it was provided with a chair by the University Reform Law of 1933.

The Turkish Institute of Anthropology publishes a review (*Türk Antropoloji Dergisi-Revue Turque d'Anthropologie*), which appeared regularly up to the year 1939. Its publication was then unfortunately interrupted; the review will, however, begin to appear in the very near future.

The courses of study in Ankara and Istanbul universities show some differences. In the University of Ankara, the course of anthropology and ethnology covers eight semesters or four years, and is crowned with the 'licence' degree; then come the studies for the doctor's degree. The main course, spread over eight semesters, includes lectures on human palaeontology, prehistory, and on the *ethne* of the world, with laboratory, seminary, and research work in physical anthropology, prehistory, and ethnology. The students who take up anthropology and ethnology as their principal subjects have to follow, for a period of four semesters, certain courses of geography; and similarly, the students of the department of geography attend, for four semesters, certain courses of anthropology and ethnology. The courses to be followed and the programmes that correspond to them are determined by the professors of the institutes. In Istanbul University, prehistory and ethnography are being taught, but there exists no independent department of anthropology, as in Ankara University.

Systematic investigations both in physical anthropology and in prehistory and ethnology have been and are being made in Turkey. In the year 1937 a wide anthropological survey was carried out with the aid of the Government, on 59,728 Turks of both sexes (*Enquête Anthropométrique Turque*. Publication de l'Office central de Statistique de la République Turque, No. 151, 1937, Ankara). The results have been published by the General Directorate of Statistics and a study of these results may be found in *L'Anatolie, le Pays de la Race Turque*, by Dr. Afet Inan, published in Geneva in 1941.

The Society of Turkish History plays a most valuable part in prehistoric survey and research work. In ethnological and ethnographical research, and in the collection of materials of culture and folklore, the General Directorate of Museums—a department of the Ministry of Education—comes in the forefront.

For information concerning the work and studies carried out in the fields of anthropology and ethnology in Turkey, and the programmes of studies in the university, reference should be made to the booklet published in 1940 by Prof. Şevket Aziz Kansu and called *Türk Antropoloji Enstitüsü Tarihi-Historique de l'Institut turc d'Anthropologie*; and also to the Bulletin No. 34, published by the Turkish Historical Society (*Bulleten—Avril, no. 34*, Ankara. *Revue publiée par la Société d'Histoire Turque*). Further, some researches on prehistory and physical anthropology are being published in the *Review* of the Faculty of Languages, History, and Geography of Ankara University: *Revue de la Faculté de Langues, d'Histoire, et de Géographie*. The Institute of Anthropology of Ankara University is also publishing its researches on anthropology and ethnology.

So far, three theses for the doctor's degree have been prepared by students trained in the Institute:

- (a) Dr. Nermün Aygen.—A research on the blood groups of the Turks and the relation of the blood groups with anthropological characteristics (1942).
- (b) Dr. Muine Atasayan.—An anthropological research on the hair of the Turks (1942).

- (c) Dr. Saim Apay.—Anthropo-social study of the Turkish convicts (1945).

The teaching staff of the Institute of Anthropology and Ethnology in Ankara University includes a professor (who is director of the Institute), three assistant-professors, and two assistants.

Although the Institute is only twenty years old, most of its work has already been valued and recognized by the scientific world. Turkish activities in the field of anthropology, ethnology, and prehistory have been duly communicated in most of the national and international congresses of anthropology, ethnology, prehistory, and history.

#### Anthropology under Nazi Rule in Czechoslovakia.

**116** Summary of a Communication by J. A. Valšík, M.D., D.Sc., D.P.H., Prague; 18 April, 1946

To say plain truth, there was very little anthropology at all in Czechoslovakia. Our universities were closed, our institutes pilfered by the Germans, and we had almost no opportunity whatever to work scientifically. As a matter of fact, this kind of work was forbidden, many of our colleagues were dead, in prison, or in concentration camps, and the remainder, more or less, had to keep out of the limelight on account of the Gestapo. So, for instance, Professor Suk had to leave Brno, early in 1940, and went up-country to do medical work; Professor Pertold had to leave Prague and to hide, and I myself as Public Health officer of the City of Prague had to devote myself to the welfare of infants and children to keep down mortality, which under the stress of war began to rise rapidly. Other anthropologists were pensioned off.

Our anthropological work which Professor Suk, Professor Maly, and myself were almost compelled to do was rather of a sinister kind. We had to make racial diagnosis in cases of Jews who claimed to be of Aryan origin. It was always a two-edged sword. We, of course, did not like to aid the Gestapo, on the other hand we had to be very careful not to be blamed for partiality by our German supervisors, for that might have been rather dangerous. In many cases we did succeed, yet this was not exactly scientific work, for our authorities were German authors—especially their idol in racialism, Professor Hans F. K. Günther, whose work we did in many items misuse for the benefit of our Jewish fellow-citizens.

To prove paternity or non-paternity we had to use blood-groups in collaboration with our serological expert Dr. Raška. The inheritance of the O—A—B and of the M—N systems was highly valued by the Germans. The inheritance of a great number of physical traits of smaller importance and of finger- and palm-prints also was used in those reports of our experts, especially in the reports of Dr. Sekla.

Experience gathered in this field is now of use in cases of paternity claims, for it proved in several instances to be reliable.

The children of the unfortunate village of Lidice were carried away and, to this day, ninety of them have not been found, and of those found several have not been recognized by their respective mothers, for you will quite understand that a baby's face will change very much after four years. In cases like that experience in the field of legal anthropology was of value and will surely be so in some other cases now under consideration.

Many of our collections have been lost; Professor Suk's collection of face-casts gathered all over the world

was hit by a shell and partly destroyed, as well as his private library, and last but not least the celebrated collection of Priedmost specimens was, in the very last minutes before the end, burnt down completely and

deliberately by the Germans. Unfortunately, a large part of the library of the anthropological department of the Masaryk University in Brno was destroyed together with this collection.

## PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES

### West China Border Research Society

**117** The Society was instituted to promote scientific studies connected with the West-China Border, and the Western Provinces of Kansu, Sinkiang, Chinghai, Sikang, Szechwan, Kweichow, and Yunnan. The Society's interests are very broad, ranging from archaeology and sociology to biology and medicine. It welcomes new members from all classes of persons interested in these studies.

The Society publishes annually a Journal in two parts: Series A, Culture; Series B, Natural History. The Journal enjoys a very wide circulation and has readers all over the world. Contributions are invited. Articles may appear in English or Chinese. Chinese articles will have abstracts in English. The Journal is illustrated, and a limited number of plates can be accepted. All manuscripts should be addressed to the editors of the Series concerned.

The membership fee is \$1,000.00 a year and this includes one journal, either Series A or Series B. Prospective members should submit their names to the Treasurer.

The Executive Committee, 1945-6 consists of William P. Fenn, *President*; Li An-che, *Vice-President*; Brain Harland, *Treasurer*; D. C. Graham and Cheng Te-k'un, *Editors, Series A*; Liu Ch'eng-chao and D. C. Graham, *Editors, Series B*; Mrs. D. C. Graham, *Librarian*; Daniel S. Dye, *Member-at-large*; Cheng Te-k'un, *Secretary*.

Eight Open Meetings were announced for the session 1945-6. They were held in the Lecture Hall of the Stubbs Memorial Chemistry Building, West China Union University, and were followed by open discussion.

### Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society: Im Thurn Memorial Lecture

**118** Professor C. Daryll Forde delivered the annual lecture at Edinburgh on 9 April, 1946, on *Anthropology as an integrative study*.

Anthropology in the nineteenth century sought a comprehensive understanding of Man in terms of both physical qualities and cultural activities. Its outlook was dominated by the theory of evolution.

Subsequent developments in the various fields have so specialized interests and techniques that the significance of results in one branch is often little considered in others. Can Anthropology sustain its rôle as an integrative study of Mankind?

Earlier theories of parallel evolution by simple stages in the racial, technological, and social spheres have long ceased to be adequate to account for the intricate history and complex processes of development which researches in Physical and Cultural Anthropology and Archaeology have revealed. But these spheres are interconnected and dependent on both physical environment and psychological and biological processes.

Recognition that we are in fact dealing with a series of interdependent systems involving biological variation, habitat, technology, social structure, and beliefs not only affords a key to the proper interpretation of the growing wealth of knowledge concerning particular cultures, past and present, but provides the foundation for a comprehensive scientific analysis of group activity in Man. This is the common interest and objective which can serve to define the Anthropological approach and to reintegrate the studies in the various specialized fields.

## REVIEW

**Gourd Growers of the South Seas.** By Ernest S. Dodge (*The Gourd Society of America, Ethnographical Series No. 2*). Boston, Mass., 1943. Pp. 120, with xxxiii Plates

The first number of this series was on 'Gourds of the South-eastern Indians,' by Dr. Frank G. Speck, and the second follows the same plan. The author, Assistant Curator at the Peabody Museum of Salem, Mass., brings wide knowledge and many illustrations to his task, and will delight gourd-lovers everywhere. Here is a real *Apocolocyntosis* of Polynesian culture, introduced by a sketch of the region, its peoples and its gourds, which are numerous but mostly introduced in recent times. An archaeologist may lament both the rapid decay of used gourds and the lack of material and skill for perpetuating their semblance in pottery, as has happened so fortunately in some other regions. There are, however, wooden containers modelled on gourds, or similarly decorated.

The uses of gourds are numerous, and classification of them illustrates almost every aspect of material culture. Musical instruments alone account for many types—rattles, drums, resonators, whistles, trumpets, and 'swing tops' used like a bull-roarer. Wood carving was so characteristic an art in Polynesia that the decoration of gourds here arouses our expectations. Gourds can either be stained or incised, and both methods are widespread. There is also 'pyrography,' a good term for decoration by burning with a glowing ember. Here, too, there are regional schools of craftsmanship and of design.

The folklore of gourds includes some curious creative legends and devices for imprisoning souls, winds, and demons.

It is to be regretted that so handy and gracious an object as the gourd is being displaced by European pots and tins. Perhaps the Gourd Society of America will add missionary enterprise to its other activities, and reinstate it in the New Order as a friend and servant of man.

J. L. M.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Naga Loyalty during the Japanese Invasion

**120** SIR,—Professor Hutton's Presidential address for 1945, 'Problems of Reconstruction in the Assam Hills.'

I think, perhaps, a few corrections and additions from one who was present with the Nagas throughout the Japanese invasion might be of interest.

(1) The road from Dimapur to the Burma border is only four-way in the Plains. It is two-way through the hills. The Bokajan Road from Kohima to the Plains was never completed and had been abandoned before the Japanese arrived. Dimapur is rapidly returning to its pre-war size and will soon be only the village it was before the war.

(2) British troops were certainly taken at once for friends

and allies, but not so Indian troops. Nagas continued to regard Indian troops with suspicion, as Indians in the I.N.A. were operating with the Japanese and it was almost impossible for them to distinguish between friend and foe where Indians were concerned. Nagas disliked the I.N.A. more than the Japanese though they said the Japanese were not human beings and must be another kind of animal: incidentally, Nagas did not like the smell of Japanese.

(3) Naga loyalty, particularly of our old enemy Khonoma, had to be seen to be believed. In one case Angamis came in from Kigwema and told us that there were many Japs in some buildings a little way away from the village and the other side of the road. The artillery quickly got the range through an observation plane, as the village and buildings were out of sight from Jotsoma, but due to an error in briefing the spotter in the plane the village was shelled for half an hour instead of the Japanese lines. Fourteen villagers were killed and as many injured, but men of that village continued to come in to our lines and give us targets in the area.

It seems important to relate that Naga assistance was best where it was most welcome and that the assistance given to '33rd Corps' operating in the Naga Hills District was much greater than that received by the '4th Corps' in Manipur State. Many of the '4th Corps' troops had had some experience in Burma and they were still inclined to look on the local inhabitants as enemies. There were cases where Kukis near Bishenpur walked many stages to the borders of Cachar District to give information.

I wish Professor Hutton had tackled the political side of the problem more fully; perhaps he will at a later date, but any reconstruction scheme for the Assam Hills will depend very largely on plans for the future constitution of India which are now being thrashed out in New Delhi. Anthropologists in India are not making sufficiently determined efforts to make the future rulers of India interested in such matters.

E. T. D. LAMBERT

*Shillong, Assam*

#### A Lower Palaeolithic Hand-Axe from Central Arabia.

**121**

*Illustrated*

During 1940-41 I spent a period of six months in Eastern Arabia and on Bahrain Island, engaged in archaeological work under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California.

While in the province of El Hasa I secured, by a happy chance, an extremely fine palaeolithic hand-axe, found underground in the very centre of Arabia.

Mr. J. D. Bauer, an experienced engineer of the California-Arabian Standard Oil Company, discovered it at Duwadami, which is about 375 miles from the east coast of Arabia and about 340 miles north-east of Mecca. Mr. Bauer was having an excavation made for a petrol-storage tank, and as the pit was being backfilled he saw the hand-axe rolling down the slope. From the colour of the soil on it he concluded that the object had been lying anywhere from 2 feet to 6 feet below the surface.

The maximum measurements of the hand-axe are as follows: length, 7½ inches; width, 3½ inches; thickness, a little over 1½ inches. Its colour is greenish-grey, and it is a somewhat altered volcanic rock. I was told that in Central Arabia one often meets with partial recementation by heat and, later, gases on fragmental volcanic rocks, and that these are reconsolidated.

Typologically the artifact falls within the Acheulian category, and I believe that nothing quite like it has been found elsewhere in Arabia proper.

P. B. CORNWALL

*Ross, California*

[Since this note, with photograph, was received, the implementation has been published by Dr. Cornwall in *Geogr. Journal*, XVII, Jan.-Feb. 1946, p. 39, with plate 8 facing p. 42. By the courteous permission of the Royal Geographical Society it is republished here, on account of its anthropological interest; with the following additional information: 'On the high ground in Hasa called Jabal Madhra' ash Shamah' (pl. 3, p. 39), Dr. Cornwall himself collected many points,



A LOWER PALAEOLOGIC HAND-AXE FROM CENTRAL ARABIA

'scrapers, cores, and rejects. Various techniques were represented, and some of the artifacts may be comparatively recent, made probably by the earliest mound-builders, but other pieces were fashioned by men who were indeed in a palaeolithic state of culture.']

#### The 'Golden Fleece' in Peru

**122**

SIR.—As a reader of *The Golden Bough* and an admirer of Sir James Frazer I am sending the following observations to you, in case one of his pupils might be interested.

In the provinces of Sandia and Carabaya on the Eastern slopes of the Cordilleras in Southern Peru it is to-day the custom among the natives washing gold in the rivers to place shorn sheepskins in their sluice boxes to recover the gold from the gravel which flows through the sluices. The gold, particularly the fine particles, adheres to the fleecy wool, aided by its natural grease; from time to time these skins, when they hold as much gold as is practical, are taken out and either dried in the sun or rinsed in water to set free their gold-content. It has occurred to me that this simple method might possibly be universal and that the voyage of the Argonauts might have been a piratical expedition to steal these skins, which would be of great value. As I am living far from text books and source material it is impossible for me to know if there were gold placer-deposits in ancient Colchus. I have been told by philologists that the Aymara language, of which a lexicon exists, made by a Jesuit priest in the late sixteenth century, actually contains a word for a 'Golden Fleece.' This is the language spoken to-day in the Titicaca region and in part of Bolivia, and I believe the Aymara culture is very ancient, antedating the Incas.

Yours faithfully,

Casilla 122, Lima, Peru

A. B. SALTO

[N.B.—This explanation of the 'Golden Fleece' was current also in antiquity, when this primitive 'grease-process' was known to be in use among the natives of Colchus.]





July 1946

# MAN

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